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THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA

A survey of the organization and history of
the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI)

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THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA

PROBLEM

To analyze the structure of the Communist Party of Indonesia (Partai Komunis Indonesia - PKI), its components and its affiliated organizations, and to depict briefly the PKI's position in Indonesian affairs and its relations with other Communist parties.

SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

Although much of the information on the PKI is available in open source materials, intelligence gaps remain on low echelon units of the PKI, front organizations of the PKI and relations of the PKI with other Communist parties. Available covert source materials only partially fill these gaps.

No attempt has been made to assess the PKI's position in the international Communist movement, nor to compare its development and doctrines with those of parties in other countries.

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THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA (PKI)

SUMMARY

The Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), the only Communist party in Southeast Asia actively supporting a non-Communist government, has grown rapidly in recent years and is now working to increase its parliamentary position in the republic's first national elections, to be held in September 1955. While not threatening the present Indonesia Government, the PKI is a strong nucleus in the Communist attempt to capture control of Southeast Asia.

The government of Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo is non-Communist, but it is leftist and at present willingly accepts the support of the Communists. Without support from the PKI's 17 votes the government coalition would barely control Parliament. Estimates are that the PKI may increase its present 7.2 per cent of the Parliament seats to 20-35 per cent in the September elections. However, the Masjumi (Indonesian Moslem Council) is expected to increase its 18.3 per cent to 40-60 per cent, while the PNI (Indonesian Nationalist Party), present leader of the government coalition may take only 15-25 per cent. The PNI holds 18.3 per cent of the seats in the present provisional Parliament.

The PKI dates its history from 1920. It has had periods of successes and depression, including two unsuccessful attempts at rebellion, in 1926 and 1948. It is now on the upswing. In the past two years membership claims (considered substantially correct) have risen from 126,000 to about 500,000. In addition, more than 1,000,000 members belong to PKI-affiliated front organizations, the largest of which is SOBSI, the principal labor federation in Indonesia. In preparation for the parliamentary elections, the PKI is endeavoring to persuade all front organization members to join the party.

The party program follows the traditional Communist lines, emphasizing the elimination of colonialism, imperialism and feudalism, while advocating the formation of a "people's democracy" and eventually a socialist state. The usual pronouncements against foreign capital, for nationalization of certain enterprises and for land reform also are frequent.

The PKI has undergone several changes recently, both in structure and in leadership. The party organization below the national level has been revised to parallel the subnational organization of the Indonesian Republic, in preparation for the national elections. A long leadership struggle has been resolved and the party is firmly in the hands of D. N. Aidit and his followers. Aidit is believed to be favored by Moscow above Alimin, his predecessor and a disciple of Mao, although little is known of PKI relations with other Communist parties.

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THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA

CONTENTS

I. History of the Party	page 1
A. The Pre-Independence Period, 1914-1945	1
1. Formation of the Party	1
2. Decline of the PKI Position	2
a. Party Split	2
b. Abortive Revolution, November 1926	3
3. PKI Activity in Exile	3
4. Underground PKI and World War II	4
B. Postwar Period to Madiun Affair, 1945-1948	4
1. The Postwar PKI	4
2. Common Front Against the Dutch	5
3. The Sajap Kiri	6
4. The People's Democratic Front	7
5. Musso's "New Road for Indonesia"	7
6. Madiun Affair, September 1948	8
C. The Post-Madiun Period, 1949-1953	11
1. Party Difficulties	11
2. National Program	11
3. Cooperation with the PNI	12
D. October 1953 to the Present	12
1. Central Committee Meeting, October 1953	12
a. Membership Changes	13
b. General Report and Draft Program	13
2. March 1954 Congress	17
3. Preparation for 1955 National Elections	17

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

II.	Organization of the Party	page 19
A.	Central Organization	20
1.	National Party Congress	20
2.	Central Committee, Politburo and Secretariat	20
a.	Organization and Functions	20
b.	Recent Membership Changes	21
3.	The Pleno	25
4.	Clandestine Party Organization	27
5.	Representation in Parliament	27
B.	Subnational Organization	29
1.	The Province	31
2.	The Section	32
3.	The Subsection	32
4.	The Resort and Great Resort	33
C.	Membership	34
1.	Numerical Strength	34
2.	Membership Rules and Procedures	35
a.	Admission to Membership or Candidacy	35
b.	Expulsion or Termination of Membership	37
c.	Oath of Membership	37
D.	Finances	38
1.	Party Dues	38
2.	Financial Problems	38
3.	Party Salaries	40
E.	Training	40
F.	Press	42
III.	Front Organizations	45
A.	Central Organization of Trade Unions for All Indonesia (Sentral Organisasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia - SOBSI)	45

~~SECRET~~

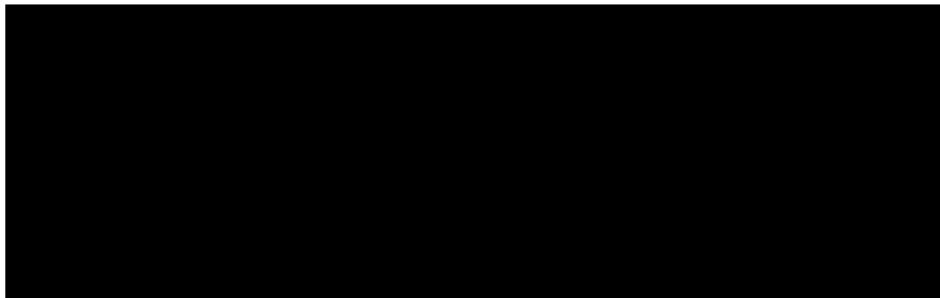
B. Union of Former Armed Combatants of Indonesia (Persatuan Bekas Pedjuang Bersendjata Seluruh Indonesia - PERBEPBSI)	page 47
C. Indonesian Farmers Union (Barisan Tani Indonesia - BTI)	48
D. People's Youth (Pemuda Rakjat)	49
E. Indonesian Women's Movement (Gerakan Wanita Indonesia - GERWANI)	49
F. People's Cultural League (Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakjat - LEKRA)	50
G. Committee for World Peace (Komite Perdamaian Dunia)	51
H. Indonesian Citizenship Conference Organization (Badan Permusjawaratan Kewarganegaraan Indonesia - BAPERKI)	52
IV. Relations with Other Communist Groups	53
A. The USSR	53
1. Contact through the Australian Communist Party	54
2. Contact through the Soviet Embassy in Bangkok	54
3. Contact through the Chinese Communist Embassy in Djakarta	54
4. Contact through a TASS Correspondent	55
B. Communist Party of China and Indonesian Chinese	55
C. Philippine Communist Party (PKP)	55
D. Malayan Communist Party (MCP)	56
E. Other Foreign Communist Parties	56
F. Partai Murba	56
V. Appendices	
A. Constitution of the Communist Party of Indonesia	A-1
B. Partial List of Provcoms, Secoms and Subsecoms of the Indonesian Communist Party	B-1
C. Alphabetical List of PKI Units	C-1

~~SECRET~~

D. Charts: Organization of the PKI

page D-1

1. The Communist Party of Indonesia D-1
2. Central PKI Units D-2
3. A PKI Subnational Unit D-3
- 25X6F 4. PKI-Front Relationship (North Sumatra, D-4
October 1953)



viii

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THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA

I. HISTORY OF THE PARTY 1/

Two Communist parties are active in Indonesia, the Nationalist Proletarian Party (Partai Murba) and the Communist Party of Indonesia (Partai Komunis Indonesia - PKI). The PKI is far stronger and more important than the Proletarian Party, which split from the original movement in its early years. The PKI was organized in 1920, although Communism in Indonesia antedates the PKI by six years.

A. The Pre-Independence Period, 1914-45

1. Formation of the Party

The Communist Party of Indonesia, which carried several other names before becoming the Partai Komunis Indonesia, is one of the oldest Communist parties in the world. Its roots go back to 1914, when H. J. F. M. Sneevliet, a Dutch engineer, founded the Social Democratic Association of the Indies (Indische Sociaal-Democratische Vereniging - ISDV), a Communist-controlled organization. Sneevliet had broken away from the Dutch Democratic Labor Party (SDAP) with the radical "Tribunist" group in 1909. This group was to become the Communist Party of the Netherlands.

In its early days the ISDV was almost entirely Dutch. It was composed of orthodox Socialists, Marxists and revisionists. Since the primary purpose of the movement was to gain a foothold in Indonesia and win Indonesian support, doctrinary differences were overlooked by the early members of the ISDV.

As was the Viet Minh movement in Indochina, Communism in Indonesia was implanted on the basis of nationalism. The Communists had three major talking points: (1) Indonesia was still a colony with little or no self-government; (2) big business in the islands was in the hands of European traders; and (3) the middle class of Indonesia was composed primarily of Chinese merchants. The Indonesians, at the bottom of the economic totem pole, proved willing supporters of a movement which appeared to be aimed at building their economic position and bolstering their national ego. The ISDV formed a mass organization called the Sarekat Islam (Islamic Union) to broaden the nationalist base of the Communist movement. By 1919 the Union had a membership of 2,500,000. One early Indonesian leader, Mangunkusumo, said of the Communist movement at that time:

Communist as well as nationalist feels that the present direction of the state, whereby matters

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of state are decided and acted on beyond, over, and yet without us, must be changed. We are oriented towards revolution. And it is on this platform that nationalist and communist find one another. We can perhaps differ in the choice of means by which to win the sovereignty of the people, but we do not yet quarrel with each other on that account; we can stand sympathetically in regard to one another. 2/

In 1918 Sneevliet attempted to establish Russian-style soviets in the Army and Navy and among merchant seamen. This action resulted in his expulsion from the country in late 1918. He settled in China, where in 1920 he was put in charge of the Communist International's Far Eastern Bureau, established upon his proposal at the Second Comintern Congress. At that congress Sneevliet represented the Indonesian Communist movement, which in May 1920 had changed its name from the ISDV to Perserikatan Komunis di Indonesia (Indonesia Communist Union). Although the name is slightly different, the PKI dates its history from this group. While Sneevliet was in China, Semaun became the leading spokesman for the movement within Indonesia.

Communist influence was centered largely in the growing trade union movement, which had its headquarters in Semarang. In 1923 the more conservative religious-nationalist elements of the Sarekat Islam, fearing Communist domination of the movement, brought about a split in the organization. The Sarekat Islam was too weak to carry the nationalist movement on its own and shortly thereafter disbanded. This left the Perserikatan Komunis di Indonesia as the remaining nationalist movement in the country. It was still very weak in 1923, when the last remaining Dutch elements left the party. The Communist party of the Netherlands was having its own difficulties at the time and was unable to give any support to the weak colonial party.

2. Decline of the PKI Position

The next few years saw the almost complete disintegration of the Indonesian Communist movement. In 1925 the premature outbreak of a general strike in East Java failed and led to strong repressive measures by the colonial government. Communist leaders were given the choice of going to prison or leaving the country; most of them choosing to leave.

a. Party Split

The strike followed a period of shifting Communist policy on the respective roles of the peasant and proletariat classes in the people's revolution. Indonesian Communists had shifted to a policy of proletarian revolution in 1924, only to receive instructions from the Comintern to again include the peasants in their plans.

Additional friction arose over the role of "bourgeois nationalist movements." Tan Malaka, the Comintern representative for Southeast Asia, favored their use while other Indonesian Communist leaders opposed them. This dispute led to an eventual split in the party (1928) that has never been

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healed and is currently manifested in the existence of two Communist parties--the late Tan Malaka's Partai Murba (Proletarian Party) and the orthodox Marxist party, the PKI.

b. Abortive Revolution, November 1926

In November 1926 the Communists launched an abortive revolution. The major outbreak was in Bantam (now Banten) Residency at the western end of Java. Additional outbreaks occurred in Priangan Residency in southwestern Java, but these were quickly squashed. The Bantam outbreaks lasted for several weeks, before order was restored. In January 1927 there were additional incidents in the Minangkabau region of Sumatra's west coast. Like the Bantam affair they were quieted only after several weeks and with military support to local police units. 3/

Many Communists believed the revolution had no hope of success. However, Semaun stated, "We believe that it would be better to die fighting than to die without fighting." 4/ Waves of arrests followed the abortive revolts; the PKI was outlawed and its effectiveness virtually destroyed. It was not a reality in the nationalist movement for the remainder of the colonial period. At the Sixth Comintern Congress in 1928 exiled PKI leaders were instructed to take all measures to bring about the party's return to legal status. This was an impossible task in the face of Dutch opposition and strength.

It was at this congress that the break between Tan Malaka and the PKI became complete. Tan Malaka was labeled a Trotskyite and blamed for the failure of the 1926-27 revolution.

3. PKI Activity in Exile

In the late 1920's and early 1930's the chief base of Indonesian Communism was in the Netherlands. Two major Indonesian groups were active there: some of the exiled Communist leaders and a group of students banded together in a movement of Marxists and nationalists called the Indonesian Association (Perhimpunan Indonesia - PI). Bolstered by statements of the Dutch Communist Party advocating Indonesian independence, the PKI and the PI joined forces in an accord in December 1926 signed by Semaun of the PKI and Hatta (now Indonesian vice-president) of the PI. This accord recognized the leadership of the PI in the movement for independence.

In the following years the PI maintained direct contact with the Comintern through Semaun and indirect contact through the League Against Imperialism. The League was founded as an international organization in 1926 by Willy Munzenberg of the German Communist Party, and Hatta became a member of its executive organization. PI affiliation with the League lasted until 1929, when a split between the League and the Comintern became permanent.

The Indonesian Communists received a strong impetus when the Dutch Communists succeeded in electing an Indonesian Communist living in the Netherlands, Rustam Effendi, to the Dutch Parliament in 1933.

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The tide turned however, in 1935, with the Comintern announcement of the Popular Front doctrine. The Dutch Communist Party interpreted this to mean that they should no longer demand immediate independence for Indonesia. They thus denied Indonesian nationalists and Communists their chief source of support. A reversal of this policy with the implementation of the Nazi-Soviet pact in 1939 increased Indonesian disillusionment with what they saw as an opportunistic approach to Indonesian independence by the Comintern.

4. Underground PKI and World War II

In 1935 Musso, an Indonesian member of the Comintern's Executive Committee, was sent back to Indonesia, where he organized an underground PKI movement under the leadership of Pamudju, Djokosudjono and Achmadsumadi, the last two now members of the PKI Central Committee. Musso stayed in Indonesia less than a year and returned to Europe; the underground movement remained quiet while building strength. Probably in accordance with the Popular Front policy, some of the members of the illegal PKI joined a "bourgeois nationalist movement" in the anti-Fascist front Gerindo (Gerakan Indonesia, Indonesian Movement), a left-wing nationalist movement of the 1930's. PKI influence in this group was noticeable.

With the Japanese invasion of Indonesia in 1941 most nationalists saw the possibility of converting resistance to the Japanese into an independence movement. Under the Japanese occupation many of the PKI members joined underground movements, notably one led by Amir Sjarifuddin, and the Communists did make inroads into the youth movement during the war. In general, the Communists cooperated with the Dutch but remained weak during World War II.

B. Postwar Period to Madiun Affair, 1945-48

1. The Postwar PKI

Adherence to the "popular front doctrine" in the later war years and the first months of the postwar period proved to be a major tactical error for the PKI. Obeying that doctrine, most of the PKI leaders had joined other nationalist parties. The only well organized party in August 1945, when Indonesia proclaimed itself an independent republic, was under the command of Subardjo, a follower of Tan Malaka. By 21 October 1945, when the PKI was re-formed, the "bourgeois nationalist parties" were already well in control of the country. It has been speculated that had there been an organized PKI during the war, Indonesia might have followed the path of Vietnam.

The new PKI of 1945 was not led by members of the wartime underground, but by Mohammed Jussuf, head of the wartime Djojoberjo Party. His inefficient leadership and his non-association with the underground weakened the movement and led many to join other parties.

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The party suffered a blow when, on the heels of Dutch announcements that Hatta and Sukarno, Indonesian nationalists who helped in formation of and led the new republic, were Japanese collaborators, the Russian, Dutch and exiled Indonesian leaders denounced the new republic as a fascist state. This feeling persisted for several months. Australian Communists were the first to favor the new republic; by the end of the year the exiled leaders also took a stand in favor of the revolutionaries. Because of wartime cooperation between these leaders and the Dutch Government, the government flew them back to Indonesia without cost. To the chagrin of The Hague, however, they ceased cooperating with the Netherlands as soon as they returned to Indonesia.

About this time the Soviet Union changed its attitude towards the new republic and supported it in the United Nations. This action probably was taken as a part of the effort to offset western influence in Asia.

2. Common Front Against the Dutch

By the spring of 1946 many of the exiled PKI leaders had returned to Indonesia. Disagreeing with Jussuf, who they felt was deviating from the PKI line, they denounced him at a meeting in March and purged him from the party. In late April a party conference set up a new executive committee under Sardjono, who had just arrived from Australia. The party issued a manifesto supporting the Indonesian Republic and opposing the Dutch, which ended with the following statement: "As the first step in achieving this goal [the formation of a socialist society] the PKI joins in the defense of the Republic of Indonesia, while at the same time it wishes to strengthen the Republic through the propagation of a national front to resist fascist-reactionary colonial attempts." 5/ This stand against colonialism indicated the complete shift to an anti-Dutch position from the PKI's wartime collaboration with the Netherlands.

Shortly after this action the PKI joined with then Defense Minister Amir Sjarifuddin in a common front against the Dutch, omitting the nationalist Communist organization of Tan Malaka. Sardjono, a leftist leader, became the head of the new coalition.

On 12 October 1946 Alimin, a former PKI leader who fled in 1926 to avoid arrest, returned to Indonesia and assumed joint leadership of the party with Sardjono. Alimin had spent 10 years of his exile in China with Mao Tse-tung and was the only PKI leader to have had extensive contact with Chinese Communists.

In November 1946 the Indonesian Government consented to the Linggadjati Agreement with the Dutch, temporarily ending hostilities. At the time, the agreement was strongly opposed by the rightists elements and leftist-nationalists who were joined in the formation of the Benteng Republik (Republican Fortress). The PKI, however, supported the government on the basis that it would give the republic a "breathing space" during which to consolidate itself. This decision apparently was made with the approval of Moscow.

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3. The Sajap Kiri

With the Partai Sosialis (Socialist Party) and the Partai Buruh Indonesia (Labor Party of Indonesia) the PKI formed the Sajap Kiri (Left-wing), an alliance supporting republican government. Part of the Socialist Party and Labor Party since have merged with the PKI. President Sukarno, to assure passage of the Linggadjati Agreement in Parliament and to make the composition of that provisional parliament (the KNIP) more nearly representative, increased KNIP membership to give the Sajap Kiri and the Benteng Republik each 105 seats. Previously the Sajap Kiri held 43 seats to 80 for the Benteng Republik bloc. The representation of the PKI itself was raised from 1 seat to 35 seats. The Working Committee of the KNIP, which assumed most of the powers of the larger body, was reorganized to give a strong majority to the Sajap Kiri.

In the following period the PKI concentrated on building its parliamentary strength and made no effort to secure power in the executive branch of the government. Outside the government the party centered its strength in the Central Organization of Trade Unions for All Indonesia (Sentral Organisasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia - SOBSI), the largest labor federation in the country. Throughout this period the PKI maintained a policy of supporting the government. At the January 1947 party conference it kept the nationalist line and called for cooperation of "all anti-colonial and anti-semicolonial foreign groups and states." 6/ Also called for were democratic freedoms, land for poor and middle income peasants, collective bargaining and anti-trust laws. The main drawback to PKI policy was its complete support of the government, even on unpopular measures, which left it extremely vulnerable when changes occurred in the administration.

Although offered cabinet positions on several occasions, the PKI refused, giving as its reason:

As followers of Marxism-Leninism...we are conscious of the fact that Indonesia is constantly threatened by the cannons of the great capitalist states (England and America). On the one side America in principle does not approve of Netherlands colonial rule, as that would be detrimental to America; but on the other hand America would also not be in accord with a 100% independent Indonesian republic, if in it there were a tendency which would be considered by America as a "cell of Moscow." It is thus clear that participation by the PKI in the cabinet would not be tactful and would have as its consequence that our republic would be weakened. We shall support the government but not run behind it. It is now the duty of the PKI to exercise control on the political leadership of the government. 7/

The major break in Sajap Kiri ranks came in June 1947 during the third Sjahrir government, when Sajap Kiri shifted to attack of that government's policy. That month Sjahrir made several important concessions to the Dutch to stave off an offensive planned by the Dutch, who accused Indonesia of violating the truce agreements. These concessions were attacked by the Sajap Kiri and the Sjahrir Government fell. Efforts to persuade Sjahrir to reorganize a new cabinet failed and Sjarifuddin became the new premier, heading a cabinet further to the left than any of the other Sajap Kiri governments.

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4. The People's Democratic Front

During this period Zhdanov of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union announced the two-camps doctrine and declared Indonesia part of the democratic camp. Acceptance of this two-camps doctrine placed the Communists in a difficult situation when the Sjarifuddin government fell on 31 January 1948, because the PKI's position was definitely committed. The reason most often given for the fall of this government was its support for acceptance of the Renville Agreement with the Dutch. It is believed, however, that many groups feared Sjarifuddin's growing power and brought about the collapse of the government, a belief supported by the acceptance of the agreement by the succeeding rightist government of Premier Hatta.

When Sukarno appointed Hatta he made the new cabinet directly responsible to himself, rendering leftist strength in the parliament useless. Demands of the Sajap Kiri for a role in the new government were refused and they joined the opposition. At this the less radical Sjahrir faction split from the Socialist Party and formed the Indonesian Socialist Party (Partai Sosialis Indonisa - PSI). The PSI took with it many of the Socialist members of the parliament and its Working Committee.

These efforts brought a need for a revision of the leftists' position. In February 1948 the parties of the Sajap Kiri re-organized into the Peoples Democratic Front (Front Demokrasi Rakjat - FDR). The program of the new group called for a repudiation of the Renville and Linggadjati agreements, the cessation of all negotiations with the Dutch as long as their forces were present in Indonesia and the nationalization without compensation of foreign-owned properties. Although this program was aimed primarily at the "imperialist enemies," it was also in opposition to the program of the Hatta government, further deepening the breach between the left and the right.

During the next few months two major events took place to further strain relations. On 22 May the Hatta government rejected a Soviet offer to exchange ambassadors. The PKI interpreted this to mean that Hatta was a servant of the Americans. On the heels of this the FDR adopted a "National Program" designed to fit the aims of all Indonesian political parties and called for a "national government" to put it into effect. They asked for representation in such a government. When Hatta accepted the program on 27 July the cabinet decided that it was unnecessary to make any re-arrangement of cabinet posts and the PKI was not offered any position.

5. Musso's "New Road for Indonesia"

August 1948 marked the return to Indonesia of Musso, founder of the illegal PKI, who had spent more than a decade in Russia. With him he brought instructions and criticisms from Moscow. Assuming leadership of the PKI, he announced a new policy, known as the Musso Corrections or as the Djalan Baru untuk Indonesia (The New Road for Indonesia). 8/ This program is still the guide for the PKI. Among the points in the Musso's program were:

- (1) Endorsement of the Zhdanov doctrine.
- (2) Ban on negotiations with the Dutch as long as Dutch troops remained in Indonesia.

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- (3) Close cooperation with the Dutch Communist Party.
- (4) Promotion of the Indonesian revolution as a bourgeois-democratic revolution rather than a socialist revolution.
- (5) Preservation of controlled capital until such time as a socialist state could be formed.
- (6) "Land for those who work it": the poor peasants to be given land, the middle class peasants to retain theirs and the land of the rich to be confiscated, with the provision that they may keep some if they supported the revolution.
- (7) Support for the revolution from the peasants, workers and petty bourgeoisie, with the leadership in the hands of the proletariat.
- (8) Attainment of democratic rights for the workers and a voice in the control of production.
- (9) Democratization of the army, removing the corrupt elements and replacing them with members of the working class.

Musso, under his so-called "Gottwald Plan," called for peaceful establishment of a national government under the National Program, rather than overthrow of the government. Seeking a "united front from above" he criticized the FDR for sponsoring anti-government strikes and urged national unity against the Dutch. Musso and the other left-wing parties invited the right-wing parties to negotiate for a united front. Fearing growing left-wing strength, the right refused, and demobilization of military units suspected of Communist sympathies was begun. This move led indirectly to the Madiun Affair, also referred to as an incident, rebellion, uprising or provocation, depending on the writer and his political inclination.

6. Madiun Affair, September 1948

In September 1948 leftist unit commanders around Madiun and Solo refused to accept the demobilization order and raised the red flag in rebellion. At the time most of the PKI leaders, including Musso, were away on a speaking tour and may not have been aware of the events taking place--many not until they were arrested. Faced with a fait accompli the leaders could do nothing but give full support to the uprising, although it is generally believed they had no prior knowledge of it. Few units outside the immediate area joined the rebellion, and many completely disassociated themselves from it. During the course of the affair, which lasted a few months, several key PKI leaders were killed, including Musso, Sjarifuddin and Setiadjit. The party suffered in the eyes of the people and for a short time sank into oblivion.

Many versions of this affair have been given. The party's official explanation, which appeared in the pro-Communist Sin Po, a Chinese-owned Indonesian language daily, on 10 February 1951, almost two and a half years later, is particularly interesting:

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The Madiun action was a culmination of the provocative program of the imperialist group carried out through the medium of the Sukarno-Hatta government. This provocation was aimed at overthrowing an anti-imperialist national revolution, particularly for the destruction of its armed strength. This aim was successful when a general assault was made on the people and anti-imperialist troops. This action was beneficial to the imperialist group as manifested by the fact that immediately after the outbreak of the Madiun armed clash the Dutch Government offered armed aid to the Sukarno-Hatta Government following a negotiation made by the Dutch Government with America.

The accusation that the coup in Madiun was aimed at establishing another Soviet regime in Madiun was not true, because the Madiun affair was only:

(a) an incident between two official armed forces which was followed by a temporary appointment of a regional head of government in Madiun on September 18, 1948, who also recognized the Central Government of Jogjakarta. This appointment of a head of government was approved by military and civil authorities in Madiun.

(b) an armed resistance by the people and the army, because they were anti-imperialist, took place after President Sukarno made a speech on the night of September 19, 1948, calling for a general assault, seizures and arbitrary murders.

(c) this resistance was brought to perfection by rallying the people's energy and by the establishment of a "Pemerintah Front Nasional" (National Front Government) in Madiun which was followed by other territories in East and Central Java.

Accusation to PKI

It is clear that all accusations to brand the PKI as a rebel were contrary to fact and groundless. At that time the PKI, under the immediate leadership of Musso as Secretary General of the Central Committee of the PKI was engaged in the implementation of their August 1948 resolution to find a new road for the Republic of Indonesia:

(a) a fifth PKI congress was to be held early in October 1948;

(b) the PKI congress on September 19, 1948, in Kediri and following it a congress of the Socialist Party were in process;

(c) Musso and Amir Sjarifuddin, who were in Purwodadi on September 18, 1948, intended to continue their trip to Kedu and Banjumas;

(d) it was planned to establish a "Front Persatuan Nasional" (Unified National Front) of all branches of the FDR (Peoples Democratic Front).

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Besides the above, considering that:

(a) the Central Committee and the Headquarters of the PKI were seated in Jogjakarta, and that until its last meeting on September 17, 1948, the PKI had never planned or decided to carry out a rebellion;

(b) the committee of the PKI section in Jogjakarta held a meeting on September 18, 1948;

(c) a Railway Laborers Conference was held on September 18, 1948, in Jogjakarta whose leadership was largely made up of members of the FDR.

(d) the existence of FDR representatives in the Working Committee of the KNIP who continued their duties in Jogjakarta until September 19, 1948.

The above are clear evidences that it was entirely impossible for the PKI or Musso and others to have drawn up a plan and decided to excite an incident in Madiun.

Opportunist Fault

The success of the provocative program of the Sukarno-Hatta Government led to:

(a) the dispersion of the anti-imperialist national union which was backed by the PKI based on a national program which had been approved by all people's parties and organizations;

(b) the collapse of the strength of the above anti-imperialist national revolution owing to the murder of 36,000 men who formed the backbone in our revolution. This occurrence permitted the Dutch invasion for their second colonial war and the surrender of the Sukarno-Hatta Government to the Dutch.

The provocative program of the Sukarno-Hatta Government and opportunistic weaknesses of the PKI in the party organization and in the political field at this time brought the party to the lowest point of its strength. This was corrected and improved according to the August 1948 revolution. Because of this party weakness the PKI was not able to surmount the provocation of Sukarno-Hatta Government. 9/

In September 1954 the PKI issued a pamphlet, Buku Putih Tentang Peristiwa Madiun (White Book on the Madiun Incident), which largely repeated the statements made in 1951, placing the blame on the Hatta government. The one significant difference is that Sukarno, who in recent years has been more favorably disposed towards the PKI, is not mentioned with Hatta as the villain of the plot. 10/

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~~SECRET~~C. The Post-Madiun Period 1949-19531. Party Difficulties

The year after the Madiun Affair, 1949, was a black year for the PKI. Party unity was disrupted and most of the country labeled the party a betrayer of the Indonesian revolution against Dutch imperialism. The year was marked, however, by one event which was later to be an important factor in the growth of the party--the victory of Mao Tse-tung in China

In August 1950, Wang Yen-shu, an Indonesian-born Chinese, returned to Djakarta as the first ambassador of the Chinese Peoples Republic (CPR). He launched a program of violent attacks on the US and made pro-Communist speeches, many aimed at Indonesia's 2,000,000 Chinese residents. The severity of his program antagonized the government, which in turn staged a round-up of leading Communists in August 1951, using violations of a government no-strike order as grounds for arrests. Many of the leaders escaped to Red China, where they were given asylum. Included in this group were such leaders as Alimin, Aidit and Lukman. The situation became calmer the following year; relations between the CPR and Indonesia were improved and Ambassador Wang was recalled.

Alimin returned to Indonesia and reassumed the party leadership he had lost to Musso in 1948. He was a strong believer in Maoist tactics and philosophy, launching a program not favored by many of the younger leaders of the party such as Aidit. The younger leaders rebuked Alimin for his policy in 1951, marking the start of his descent, which was to end in October 1953 with removal from the chairmanship of the party and the Politburo, and, in March 1954, from the Central Committee as well.

2. National Program

During these years, 1950 and 1951, the party staged a mild comeback. Besides increasing membership it consolidated its control over SOBSI and in peasant and youth groups. In March 1951 the party, in an attempt to establish a united front, issued a 12-point "National Program" which called for:

1. Repeal of the Round Table Agreement between the Netherlands and Indonesia;
2. Institution of a broad democracy;
3. Setting in motion of an independent foreign policy;
4. Prohibition of the use of the atom bomb, condemnation of American aggression, and effectuation of a policy of peace;
5. Removal of foreign military forces from the country, and making effective the people's defense;
6. Nationalization of important industries and help to national enterprises;
7. Land for those who work it;
8. Adequate wages and the guarantee of work;

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9. Heavy taxes for large, foreign-owned enterprises, light taxes for the people;
10. Cheap and healthful food and housing for the people;
11. Combating of illiteracy and increased schooling;
12. Destruction of corruption and usury.

3. Cooperation with the PNI

In this period the Indonesian Nationalist Party (Partai Nasional Indonesia - PNI) came under the control of its younger, more radical faction, setting the stage for a cooperation between the PNI and the PKI that still exists under the Indonesian administration of Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo. The PNI had strong support among government officials but was weak in mass organization and discipline, two areas in which the PKI was strong. They thus complemented each other. Their alliance was the beginning of the kind of united front desired by the PKI.

By 1952 the party was far along the road to regaining its lost strength, and even toward surpassing it. Party membership increased from less than 10,000 to more than 125,000 in a period of six months. Membership in front organizations also increased. Even more important, however, is the political strength gained by the party through its support of the Sastroamidjojo government, a PNI-led coalition. While not holding any cabinet posts, (though some cabinet members are communist sympathizers), the PKI is an important cog in the parliamentary machinery of Indonesia. Without the 17 PKI votes (out of 231), the government coalition is barely in control of the parliament. The defection of a single splinter component to the opposition could swing the balance were it not for PKI delegation, fourth largest in Parliament. There is still some question about the extent of control the party exercises over the government, but a close correlation between the government position and the PKI position on many matters is discernible.

In October 1953 several changes took place in the party, notably the end of nominal leadership of the party by Alimin, the leading believer in Maoist doctrine.

D. October 1953 to the Present

1. Central Committee Meeting, October 1953

A plenary session of the PKI Central Committee (CCPKI) was held in Djakarta, 6-8 October 1953. The chief purposes of the meeting were to write the "Draft Program" of the party for consideration by the entire membership at the party congress in March 1954 and to make additional arrangements for that conference. This meeting of the CCPKI became one of the milestones in PKI history.

Five major events took place: (1) election of a new Central Committee; (2) criticism of and action against Central Committee member Tan Ling Djie; (3) reading of the General Report of the

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CCPKI; (4) pronouncement of the "Draft Program"; and, (5) completion of arrangements for the Fifth Party Congress in March 1954.

a. Membership Changes

Six men were dropped from the Central Committee: Supardan, Tan Ling Djie, Tjugito, Djaetun, Utarjo and Mudigdo. The first two also had been on the Politburo; Sudisman replaced them. Alimin was dropped from the Politburo, being replaced by Njoto, but was retained in the Central Committee. With these changes the Politburo was composed of the five present incumbents: Aidit, Lukman, Njoto, Sakirman and Sudisman. The new members of the Central Committee were Pardede, Adjitorop, Djokosudjono, Zailani, Wikana and Bachtaruddin. Wikana and Alimin were later dropped at the party congress and were replaced by Nursuhud and Supit.

In addition to removal from the Central Committee, Tan Ling Djie was censured, in a resolution approved at the party congress, for actions described as "subjectivism, dogmatism and empiricism, causing the Party to make mistakes on the right and left, with results similar to Trotskyism." 11/ Dogmatism and empiricism were described as being two kinds of subjectivism. The report stated:

Dogmatism and empiricism are two opposite extremes. Both trends are equally one-sided. The dogmatist puts everything on the basis of book-learning and several theoretical axioms. They fail to see the living, developing, and altering process. They render the theories inert by denying them any connection with practice and with the masses.

On the other hand, the empiricist toils like crazy without any knowledge as to what exactly has necessitated the work he does. He fails to know which way is best in which to attain ends. He puts practice in a shadow of darkness as he proceeds unguided by any theories. He discards theories as trivialities. 12/

The report does not explain, however, how one can be both a dogmatist and an empiricist at the same time--depending only on theories yet discarding theory.

b. General Report and Draft Program

The General Report of the Central Committee was announced as a report of the political situation and an explanation of the subjects mentioned in the "Draft Program." It was basically a rehashing of party history and the events of the day.

More important was the pronouncement of the "Draft Program." The program called for a united national front based on an alliance of labor and the farmers led by the working classes. The 30-point program, divided into 5 categories, is still the basic program of the PKI. A new "Peoples Democratic Government" was asked to carry out this program: 13/

TO OBTAIN NATIONAL FREEDOM

1. Release Indonesia from the Dutch-Indonesian Union.
Send the Dutch Military Mission and the Dutch

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advisers away from Indonesia; cancel the Round Table Conference treaty, and establish diplomatic relations with the Netherlands based on terms of full equality and advantageous to both sides.

2. Seize and nationalize all factories, banks, estates, transport-equipment, mines, business firms, and any other enterprises that belong to the Dutch Colonialists in Indonesia.
3. Uphold West Irian as a part of the Indonesian Republic and send back the Dutch army and civil employees from West Irian.

IN THE FIELD OF STRUCTURE OF THE STATE

4. Accomplish the sovereignty of the people. This means giving all authority to the people. The greatest authority must be in the hands of representatives chosen by the people, who, at any time, can be withdrawn according to a decision of the majority of their electors.
5. All citizens who have reached the age of 18 years have the right to choose and to be chosen for Parliament, without regard to wealth, sex, tribe (as Djawa, Sunda, Minangkabau, Minahasa, Ambon, etc.) or religious belief. Organize a balanced representation system in the elections.
6. Election of local democratic administrations with broad autonomy. Abolish the system of local aristocratic government.
7. Guarantee the invulnerability of person and residence, guarantee the freedom of religious choice, freedom to have one's belief, to speak, of the press, to assemble, to demonstrate, the right to strike and to organize trade unions, the freedom of movement and to choose employment, guarantee the right of all nationalities to obtain an equal salary for the same work.
8. To separate the state from all religious organizations. The state is a temporal organization.
9. To establish progressive income taxes and light tax for workers, peasants and craftsmen.
10. The right for all tribes to use their own local language in school, courts of justice, and everywhere besides using the Indonesian language as a language of unity and as a national language.
11. Free compulsory education for all children, boys as well as girls, up to the age of twelve years.

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12. To organize a wide people's health system with extensive polyclinics and hospitals. To take steps to combat and to clear up all sources malaria, cholera, dysentary sources and other infectious diseases.

IN THE FIELDS OF AGRARIAN RELATIONS AND AGRICULTURE

13. The seizure without compensation of all lands owned by foreign landlords (private landlords and owners of estates, etc.) and all the Indonesian landed aristocrats, etc.
14. Division and free gift of the lands to farmers, especially to the landless and poor peasants; organize a system of peasant land ownership, that means the individual ownership of the land. The foreign and the Indonesian landlords' lands which have been seized, as well as the uncultivated lands, should be divided among farmers except those which are not meant to be divided as, for instance, plantations employing modern techniques. These lands and forest-lands should be controlled by the government. Lands should be given to each member of the peasants' family.
15. Lands and other properties of rich peasants are not seized; lands and other properties of middle-peasants will be protected by the government.
16. Abolish corvee, pologoro*, and other feudal slavery. Cancel all peasants', fishermen's and craftsmen's debts to the usurers.
17. Give long term, simple and cheap credit to peasants, so that they can have agricultural tools, seedlings, and manure. This kind of credit is given to fishermen and craftsmen too.
18. Help farmers in improving the old irrigation system and in building new ones.
19. To carry out with the force and instruments of the government the resettlement of a part of the population of Java, bit by bit, to other islands; remembering that in Java the lands are insufficient whereas in other islands are located vast pieces of good cultivatable land which is not yet open.

*Pologoro is another form of corvee, or forced unpaid labor, originated by the Spaniards in the Philippines. It is also called polo.

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Enough lands are given to them as personal property; also the necessary equipment for their homes, for looking after their health, sufficient credit and tools to work.

IN THE FIELDS OF INDUSTRY AND LABOR

20. Protect national industry against the competition of foreign goods, to establish a protective duties system. Develop national industry and set up all the conditions to industrialize the country using all the forces and resources of the state.
21. To decide the minimum wages for the industrial and estate workers, and also the minimum salary for the governmental employees and private office employees.
22. To establish a 6-hour workday for mining below the surface of the earth and other industries that endanger health. To allow a yearly holiday of at least 14 days with full salary.
23. To establish a social protection system at the expense of the government and the capitalists in all matters of disablement and employment.
24. To forbid women, children and youths to work in industries that endanger their health.
25. To abolish the semi-feudal sucking of work, for instance, summoning all laborers to do objectionable jobs, the system of employing workers as helping hands only, and the system of a contract labor, etc.
26. To protect the free development of trade unions and the right to make collective agreements.
27. To establish severe controls on the prices of commodities.

IN THE FIELD OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

28. To execute conscientiously peace and cooperation with all countries who love peace with the aim of maintaining peace; forbid war propaganda.
29. To execute a policy of economic cooperation with all countries on the basis of fully equal terms profitable to both sides.

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30. To cancel all treaties and agreements made between Indonesia and other countries that damage freedom and the peaceful atmosphere of Indonesia.

The program was one that would appeal to most Indonesians. The only group that would suffer from its implementation would be the Dutch and other foreign businessmen, wealthy landlords and the money-lenders (mostly the Chinese in the rural areas); few Indonesians could take exception with the demands listed. Thus it fulfills the chief aim of the party, presenting a program that appeals to the broad base of the population. One of the demands is no longer a main issue since the Dutch-Indonesian Union is in the process of dissolving by mutual agreement.

The program is reminiscent of the "people's democracies," with modified socialism as the first step toward realization of a Communist state, an announced aim of the PKI.

2. March 1954 Congress

The program was approved at the March 1954 Congress of the PKI. Other actions taken at that meeting included the dropping of Alimin and Wikana from the Central Committee and approval of the report on Tan Ling Djie. In addition the congress approved several changes in the party's constitution (the text is given in Appendix A). For the most part the congress was a rubber stamp of the Central Committee decisions of October 1953.

3. Preparation for 1955 National Elections

The major party activity in 1955 has been preparation for the national elections, which, after several re-schedulings, are now slated for 29 September 1955. The party has organized election action committees to carry out propaganda objectives. It is seeking a place on all regional election committees and has protested the organization of any on which it is not represented. The PKI succeeded in obtaining approval of the party symbol, the hammer and sickle, not only for themselves but for non-party candidates as well, but the action was successfully opposed by other parties and rescinded.

To date no national elections have been held in the Indonesian Republic. The few municipal elections which have been held have not been true tests of party strength because party platforms were not primary issues. Forecasts of the 1955 election results by Indonesian political figures have varied widely according to the affiliation of the forecaster. A consensus of opinion of foreign observers--based on such factors as registration in rural and urban areas, extent of campaigning in specific areas, traditional Moslem conservatism in the rural sections, varying popularity of party leaders and scattered samplings of opinion by individual reporters--estimates the probable composition of the future Parliament as follows:

Masjumi (Indonesian Moslem Council): 40-60 per cent
(now holds 43 seats, 18.3 per cent)

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PKI (Communist Party of Indonesia): 20-35 per cent
(now holds 17 seats, 7.2 per cent)

PNI (Indonesian Nationalist Party): 15-25 per cent
(now holds 42 seats, 18.2 per cent)

PIR (Greater Indonesian Union): 10-15 per cent
(now holds 22 seats, 9.3 per cent)

PSI (Indonesian Socialist Party): 5-10 per cent
(now holds 15 seats, 6.4 per cent)

Other parties: scattered seats
(now hold 96 seats, 40.6 per cent)

The number of seats in Parliament, based on the population, will be increased from 235 to 266.

The Constituent Assembly's 532 seats are to be filled by elections in December 1955.

Reports have circulated that the two top men in the party, Aidit and Lukman, would be candidates for president and vice-president of the Republic. ^{14/} Although it seems unlikely that their strength will be sufficient to form the post-election government, it is likely that in the event of a coalition led by the PNI the Communists will be represented in the cabinet.

Despite close rapport between the PNI and PKI, a recent occurrence shows that the PKI's ability to flout Indonesian law is limited. In late 1954 Aidit made a speech in which he attacked Vice-president Hatta. He was brought to trial and sentenced in late March 1955 to three months in prison for insulting the vice-president.

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II. ORGANIZATION OF THE PARTY *

The 1954 constitution of the PKI outlines a complete party structure ranging from the central party machinery to the smallest cell. In accordance with traditional Communist Party organization, it is based on the doctrine of "democratic centralism" spelled out in Article 18 of the PKI Constitution:

The structural organization of the Party is based on the principle of democratic centralism, that is, centralism based on democracy and democracy under centralized leadership.

The bases of this are as follows:

a. All leading Party bodies from the lowest to the highest must be elected.

b. All leading Party bodies must at designated times report to the Party organization which elected them.

c. Each Party member must obey the decisions of the Party organization to which he belongs; the minority must obey the majority; the lower Party organizations must obey the higher, and all parts of the Party organization must obey the Central Committee.

The purpose of this principle is twofold: first, to give all party members ostensible participation in the party, permitting them to vote for officers and to review their work, and, second, to solidify party discipline by spelling out the chain of command. The control, however, is from above, the higher echelons ordering the results by stating who may be elected.

Following the regional structure of the Indonesian Republic almost exactly, the Constitution designates, in Article 20, the level of party organization that is to exist in each area. Within each such party unit the general meeting of the group (the National Party Congress at the central level; the Party Conference at province, section, subsection and large resort** levels; and the General Membership Meeting at the smaller resort level) is the supreme authority of the unit. Since a full membership meeting of all but the very smallest units would be too unwieldy to carry on the functions of the unit, each group elects a governing body to carry out these duties, with a periodic review by the full membership in accordance with the basic principle

* Organization charts are given in Appendix D.

** Resort is the Indonesian term for the local units which are equivalent to cells in most Communist parties. The distinction between the large resort and the resort is discussed later.

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of democratic centralism. These governing bodies are the resort committee (recom) or great resort committee (recom besar), subsection committee (subsecom), section committee (secom), provincial committee (provcom) and the PKI Central Committee (CC), increasing in rank in the order named. The party units are known by their committee names. While these committees are responsible for the over-all affairs of their respective units, they also select, from within their group, a still smaller unit to direct the affairs of the party component. At the national level this group is called the Politburo; at other levels the Daily Council (Dewan Harian). The secretariats of these bodies are the chief functioning authorities of the party units, charged with the operation of day-to-day affairs of the unit. The enlarged meeting of the Central Committee, including front organization representatives, is called the Pleno. Similar units exist at the lower levels.

A. Central Organization

1. National Party Congress

The Constitution of the Party (Article 32) provides for the convening of the National Party Congress every four years, subject to advancement or delay by a decision of the Central Committee. A legal quorum for the Congress is representation of more than half the party membership. If party units representing more than half the party members request the convening of the Congress, the Central Committee must comply. The Fifth National Party Congress was held in March 1954.

The responsibilities and powers of the Congress (Article 33) include the election of members and candidate members of the Central Committee, formation of policy and program, review of the constitution and amendment and validation of reports of the Central Committee and other party organizations. Between party congresses the seat of authority rests with the Central Committee.

2. Central Committee, Politburo and Secretariat

a. Organization and Functions

The Constitution sets no specific figure for the size of the Central Committee, but the number for the past few years, despite several changes in membership, has remained constant at 13. Three candidate members provide replacements for Central Committee members who die, resign or are removed by the National Party Conference--a body, smaller than the National Party Congress, which may be convened between Party Congresses, by the Central Committee, to discuss important questions. This conference may not, however, elect at one time members and candidates exceeding one-fifth of the total number of candidates and members. Under the current set-up with a total of 16, the Conference would be limited to three changes of personnel. The Party Congress may select any PKI member to fill a vacancy in the Central Committee. Recent changes in the make-up of the membership of the Central Committee and the Politburo will be discussed in Section b below.)

The Central Committee selects from its numbers the Politburo (currently numbering five) to conduct the day-to-day business of the party. It also elects the secretary-general of the party and

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two deputies, who comprise the secretariat of the party and concurrently serve as the secretariat of the Central Committee and the chairman and vice-chairmen of the Politburo. The Constitution (Article 37) provides for the establishment by the Central Committee of such departments as are required for proper functioning of the party. Suggested departments include: organization, agit-prop, labor, farming, youth, women, representation, science and culture and economy (see Section 3., below, for a further analysis). These departments function under the leadership and supervision of the Politburo. Another article of the Constitution (Article 35) charges the Central Committee with the responsibilities of dealing with other political parties and of allotting party personnel and finances.

In intra-party affairs it is noteworthy that, despite the well-planned chain of command through subsecom-secom-provcom, it is not uncommon for the Central Committee to contact a secom or subsecom directly and vice versa. Information copies of the correspondence in question is usually sent to the intervening levels of command.

Two of the most important departments under the jurisdiction of the Central Committee are the Agit-Prop Department and the Organization Department. These departments, as do almost all of the Central Committee's departments, have counterpart divisions at the lower echelons. The Agit-Prop Department has two chief responsibilities, propaganda dissemination outside the party and the maintenance of the "correct line" within the party. So important is this body that it has been headed by a Politburo member in recent years. A report of October 1953 listed Sakirman as head of this department, but an early 1954 report lists D.N. Aidit, the secretary-general of the party, as being in charge of Agit-Prop activities, with Bachtaruddin, another Central Committee member, as his assistant. 15/

The functions of the Organization Department include responsibility for personnel and membership, document security and general administration. Sudisman, a member of the Politburo, has been reported to be the chief of this department. 16/ The Organization Department also has been likened to the control commissions, the disciplinary organization of other Communist parties, despite the designation of a Central Control Commission in Chapter Eight of the Party Constitution (same chapter in both the 1951 and 1954 constitution). No reports mentioning the existence of a control commission have been received. The 1953 report that mentioned Sudisman as head of the Organization Department also stated that there was no control commission in the PKI and that the Organization Department performed this function. 17/ No other confirmation has been received, however.

b. Recent Membership Changes

Information of May 1952 and May 1953 lists a Politburo of six members; since October 1953 the number has been five. The Party Constitution does not stipulate any number of members. The following lists indicate the changes in Politburo membership in the past two years.

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<u>May 1952 18/</u>	<u>May 1953 19/</u>	<u>October 1953 20/</u>	<u>1955 21/</u>
Alimin	Alimin	Aidit	Aidit
Aidit	Aidit	Lukman	Lukman
Lukman	Lukman	Njoto	Njoto
Njoto	Sakirman	Sakirman	Sakirman
Sakirman	Supardan	Sudisman	Sudisman
Sudisman	Tan Ling Djie		

During the period of the first two Politburos listed Alimin was its head; during the last two Aidit has been secretary-general, and Lukman and Njoto his deputies, ranking in the order named. The removal of Alimin, Tan Ling Djie and Supardan from the Politburo in 1953 was the culmination of a factional dispute that had existed for some time. While Tan and Supardan were dropped from the Central Committee in October, also, Alimin, probably out of deference to his past leadership, was not removed from the committee until the Congress of March 1954, although he was dropped from the Politburo. The points of contention between the two factions are believed to be the campaign against the Darul Islam (DI), the dissident militant Moslem group in Indonesia, and support of the Ali Sastroamidjojo cabinet, which is still in power. A report of late 1953 summarized their positions as follows:

Anti-Darul Islam Campaign--The Alimin position was that the PKI should not wage a campaign against the DI lest it alienate the Moslem masses. He felt that a possible resurgence of counter-revolutionary strength could force the PKI to retreat to the mountains where it would vitally need local support. Aidit agreed that the PKI needed strength among the masses, but claimed that since the DI was terrorizing the people, PKI opposition to the DI put the PKI on the same side as the masses of people.

On support of the Cabinet--Alimin interpreted PKI support of the Sastroamidjojo Cabinet as a tactical move; Aidit contended that the PKI's support was sincere. 22/

In September 1953 Aidit issued a directive explaining how support of the cabinet, a policy opposed by Alimin, fitted into PKI tactics and strategy. The changes in the Politburo are considered by some to orient the PKI more directly towards Moscow than towards Peiping.

Support of Aidit's views by the rest of the Central Committee forced the removal of Alimin and his two chief supporters, Tan and Supardan, from the Politburo. None were removed from the party and Supardan still represents the PKI in Parliament. Tan was removed from the Central Committee for other reasons, as well. At the March Congress a long report was issued on the crime of Tan Ling Djie-ism; described as "subjectivism, dogmatism and empiricism, causing the party to make mistakes on the right and left, with results similar to Trotskyism." 23/ This action was merely a rubber-stamping of the line pursued at the Central Committee meeting in October 1953, which took action against Alimin and Supardan as well. Though not specifically stated it is believed that some of the criticism directed against Tan was also intended for Alimin. 24/

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The new hierarchy of the party definitely is a swing towards youth. The three top men, Aidit, Lukman and Njoto are 32, 35 and 30, respectively. 25/ They represent a new core that rose in the party after the Madiun Affair of 1948. They also represent leading supporters of the Leninist-Stalinist wing of the party. In November 1952 Aidit and Njoto went to Prague to WFTU headquarters. They remained in Europe until May 1953 and attended the funerals of both Stalin and Gottwald. They have since pledged support to Malenkov. 26/

Changes in the Central Committee have been more numerous. The Central Committee, for the past few years, has consisted of 13 men. For the past year or so a certain pattern in the functional breakdown of the Central Committee appears to have been developing. Each member of a three man secretariat has an additional departmental function under his jurisdiction. Four other men have a solely departmental function and six men supervise party activities in a given area of Indonesia. The candidate members also fit into the functional pattern. One of them, Anwar Kadir, assists committee member Nursuhud in party activities in Central Sumatra. 27/ (The Anwar Kadir who is a leading figure in the Celebes/Moluccas Provincial Committee, is another man.) 28/ The other two candidate members, A.Z. Anwar and Siswojo are in charge of the Provincial Committees in West and Central Java respectively, which are under the general supervision of Sakirman. 29/

The following lists show the composition of the Central Committee for the past few years, indicating the rise and decline of certain leaders in the party:

<u>August 1952 30/</u>	<u>May 1953 31/</u>	<u>October 1953 32/</u>	<u>1955 33/</u>
Aidit	Aidit	Aidit -	Aidit
Lukman	Lukman	Lukman -	Lukman
Njoto	Njoto	Njoto -	Njoto
Sakirman	Sakirman	Sakirman -	Sakirman
Pardede	Alimin	Pardede -	Pardede
Alimin	Supardan	Alimin -	Sudisman
Supardan	Tan Ling Djie	Adjitorop -	Achmadsumadi
Tan Ling Djie	Tjugito	Djokosudjono -	Adjitorop
Tjugito	Djaetun	Zailani	Djokosudjono
Djaetun	Utarjo	Wikana -	Zailani
Utarjo	Mrs. Mudigdo	Bachtaruddin	Bachtaruddin
Mrs. Mudigdo	Sudisman	Sudisman -	Nursuhud
Sudisman*	Achmadsumadi	Achmadsumadi	Supit
Anwar*			

The lists show two major periods of change. In October 1953 six members were changed in a reorganization of the Central Committee, as a result of the Aidit faction's gaining control. In March 1954, at the Party Congress, two more changes were made in the committee. Alimin was dropped because of the open factional dispute with Aidit, and a strong supporter, Wikana, suffered the same fate. The current functional breakdown of the Central Committee is as follows: 34/

*Sudisman was known to be a member of the Central Committee and Politburo at this time. Anwar might have been only a candidate member.

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Aidit	Secretary-general and chief of Agit-Prop.
Lukman	First deputy secretary. Also in charge of liaison with government officials and offices.
Njoto	Second deputy secretary. Also in charge of Foreign Section.
Achmadsumadi	Action command chief.
Djokosudjono	In charge of labor and peasant affairs.
Sudisman	Treasurer. Also in charge of liaison with Chinese Communist Embassy, Communist Chinese, Communist Organizations and Communist diplomatic installations.
Zailani	Assistant to Sudisman.
Adjitorop	Supervisor of North Sumatra.
SISWOJO chosen Aug 1956 Bachtaruddin 2-24-52	function not defined Supervisor of South Sumatra.
Nursuhud	Supervisor of Central Sumatra.
Sakirman	Supervisor for West, Middle and East Java.
Pardede	Supervisor for Djakarta Raja (Greater Djakarta).
Supit	Supervisor for East Indonesia and Borneo (Recent reports show him as head of activities in the Celebes and the Moluccas. No information has been received to show whether he still directs affairs in Borneo.) 35/

The apparent designation of a fixed number, (six) of the Central Committee members as area supervisors appears to be confirmed by the changes that took place when the two new members were elected in March 1954. Both new men, Supit and Nursuhud, were made area supervisors. One replaced Wikana, who was an area supervisor. To make room for the other one among the area supervisors, Zailani was moved up to assist Sudisman. Except for Sakirman and Pardede the area supervisors were all among the most recent additions to the Central Committee. There are precedents for this promoting of members from the area supervisor status. Aidit was, in August 1952, supervisor for Sumatra, then became first secretary of the party and later secretary-general. 36/ Njoto was supervisor for East Java in August 1952, moved up to head the Action Committee in May 1953 and took his present position in October 1953. 37/ If the Action Committee is a stepping stone into the Politburo, then Achmadsumadi may be expected to be the next member of the Politburo.

Although one Central Committee member is given responsibility for labor and peasant affairs, representatives of these elements of Indonesian society also exist in the PKI Central Committee Pleno.

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3. The Pleno

Pleno, as used in Indonesian Communist Party, means the plenary or enlarged central committee, consisting of the members of the Central Committee and representatives from the front organizations, or, at lower echelons of the party down to the subsecom level, full meetings of those party units.

Some confusion has existed over the use of the term. The word pleno in the Indonesian language means "plenary." It is used frequently in the Party Constitution to refer to meetings of both the Central Committee and lower echelons. For example:

Article 36. A Pleno of the Central Committee shall be held at least every half year. However, the Politburo may extend or shorten this time depending on conditions. Candidates for membership on the Central Committee may attend the Pleno of the Central Committee and may express their ideas, but they do not have the right of decisive vote.

One report from Surabaya referred to a unit of this kind as the "Executive Committee for Front Organizations." 38/ Another Surabaya report used the term Pleno for this kind of unit and added parenthetically, as if the Indonesian equivalent, Badan Pelaksana, which means "executive body." This is the only time this last term has been used in available materials. 39/

Although these bodies do not appear to have been given a legal status in the Constitution, there is little doubt that they do exist and that they do play an important role in PKI affairs. The pleno is the only place in the party structure providing for front organization representation as such,* and apparently the party policy relevant to these fronts is put forth and instructions to these groups is issued in the Central Committee Pleno. The membership of the Pleno is as follows: 40/

<u>Name</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Responsibility in Pleno</u>
Aidit	Central Committee	Agit-Prop Department
Lukman	Central Committee	Government liaison
Njoto	Central Committee	Foreign Department; Peace Committee
Sakirman	Central Committee	Parliamentary Representation; area supervisor; veterans affairs
Sudisman	Central Committee	Organization Department; Finance Department
Adjitorop	Central Committee	Area supervisor

*Front organizations are discussed in Chapter III.

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<u>Name</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Responsibility in Pleno</u>
Djokosudjono	Central Committee	Labor Department; Farmers Department
Achmadsumadi	Central Committee	Action Command
Pardede	Central Committee	Parliamentary Representation Department; area supervisor
Zailani	Central Committee	Finance Department
Bachtaruddin	Central Committee	Agit-Prop Department; area supervisor
Nursuhud	Central Committee	Organization Department; area supervisor
Supit	Central Committee	Area supervisor
Njono	Sec-gen. SOBSI (central labor union)	Labor Department
Munir	Asst. sec-gen, SOBSI	Labor Department
Setiadi	Sec-gen, Pemuda Rakjat (youth group)	Youth Department; Chairman, Central Peace Committee
Suwarti	Sec-gen, GERWANI (women's group)	Women's Department
Tjugito	Sec-gen, SBG (Sugar Workers Union)	Parliamentary Representation Department
Sardjono	Sec-gen, BTI (farmers group)	Farmers Department
Djaetun		Editor of <u>Bintang Merah</u> (Red Star), monthly PKI periodical
Olena (or Olean)		Reported editor of <u>Harian Rakjat</u> (Peoples Daily), PKI newspaper. In December 1954 the paper's masthead did not list him. 41/
Hardjo	Head of SOBSI Cultural Bureau	Not known
Werdojo	SOBSI representative in Parliament and a SOBSI Central Bureau member	Not known
Sumardi		Formerly a PKI member of Parliament

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<u>Name</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Responsibility in Pleno</u>
Hutapea		Formerly head of East Java PKI; reported moved to Djakarta because he is an outstanding theoretician

Whether the three candidate members of the Central Committee have any functions on the Pleno is not known. Of the Pleno membership, 12 are representatives in the Indonesian Parliament. One, Sumardi, was in Parliament until recently replaced by Lukman. Of the 12 representatives, 9 are PKI representatives, Aidit, Lukman, Njoto, Sakirman, Achmadsumadi, Pardede, Djaetun, Suwarti and Tjugito; 2 are SOBSI representatives, Djokosudjono and Werdojo; and Sardjono is a BTI representative. 42/

The one major front organization that is not directly represented on the Pleno is PERBEPBSI, the Communist veterans organization and militia. It conceivably could fall under Achmadsumadi's Action Command although they are reported to be under the jurisdiction of Sakirman. 43/ The Party Constitution in Article 30 suggests the formation of a Culture Department. Its existence has not been reported, however.

4. Clandestine Party Organization

No information is available on the existence or nature of an underground party, a structure found in other Communist parties. One small clue may exist in a reference to Kasim Werdojo as a secret member of the PKI Central Committee. 49/ He formally joined the party, according to reports, in late 1954. Werdojo is a high official of SOBSI and one of its representatives in the Indonesian Parliament. SOBSI would be a logical cover organization for the parallel underground structure, but there is no other evidence that it serves such a purpose.

5. Representation in Parliament

As of May 1955 no election for Parliament had been had in the Republic of Indonesia. The present body of 231 members consists of original appointees, provisionally named by the nationalist leaders after expulsion of the Dutch, or replacements because of death, resignation or transfer of party allegiance. The PKI fraction of 17 is the fourth largest group in Parliament. Two PKI affiliates, BTI and SOBSI, also are represented in that body. Originally each had three representatives but, because of switches in party allegiance the representation of each is currently two.

The first elections are scheduled for September 1955, after postponements. All parties are eagerly preparing for them. The PKI is gradually placing all members of its Central Committee in the present Parliament, before the October 1953 reorganization of the Central Committee most of the committee members held Parliament seats. The recent appointments to Parliament take the Central Committee changes into account, giving the following delegation:

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Ir. Sakirman, chairman of PKI delegation,
Politburo member, 1st vice-
chairman of Parliament Economic
Affairs Committee

Perlis Pardede, vice-chairman, Central
Committee member

Hutomo Supardan, chairman of Parliament
Finance Committee

S. Utarjo Purwosugito

Achmadsumadi, Central Committee member

M.H. Lukman, Politburo member

Tjugito, member of Central Committee Pleno

Mrs. Suwarti, member of Central Committee
Pleno

Musirin Sosrosubroto

Sunardi Adiwirjono

Mrs. Mudigdo (also reported as Mudikdio),
2nd vice-chairman of Parliament
Justice and Security Committee

Wardi Kusnatalistra

Sarwono S. Sutardjo, 2nd vice-chairman of
Parliament Defense Committee

Sutan Said Ali

D.N. Aidit, Politburo member

Njoto, Politburo member

Bachtaruddin, Central Committee member

Thus, of the PKI delegation, four are members of the PKI Politburo and three others are Central Committee members. Central Committee members who do not hold seats in the PKI parliamentary delegation are Sudisman (the only Politburo man not in Parliament), Zailani, Supit, Adjitorop, Nurusuhud and Djokosudjono, although Djokosudjono heads the SOBSI delegation in Parliament.

SOBSI and the BTI, both represented in the PKI Central Committee Pleno, also have representation in Parliament:

Djokosudjono, chairman of SOBSI delegation,
PKI Central Committee member
K. Werdojo, member of SOBSI delegation,
Pleno member

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S. Sardjono, chairman of BTI delegation,
Pleno member
Djadididiro Subroto (aka R. Djadi Wirosbroto),
who replaced Dr. A. Tjokonegoro,
recently resigned

Mohamad Tauchid, who was expelled from the BTI, now
represents the rival Gerakan Tani Indonesia (GTI) in Parliament.

Sumardi and Djaetun of the Pleno were recently replaced in
the PKI delegation by Lukman and Bachtaruddin. Other recent
changes included Aidit for Ngadiman and Njoto for Abdullah
Aidit, a non-party man who voted with the party and was
considered a replacement for Tengku Jusuf Mudadalam, who switched
to the PNI.

Of the other members of the PKI fraction, Supardan,
Utarjo, Tjugito, Mudigdo and the recently replaced Djaetun were
formerly members of the Central Committee.

Four PKI members hold chairmanships or vice-chairmanships
in Parliament: Supardan is chairman of the Finance Committee;
Sakirman, 1st vice-chairman of the Economic Affairs Committee;
Sutardjo, 2nd vice-chairman of the Defense Committee; and Mrs.
Mudigdo, 2nd vice-chairman of the Justice and Security
Committee. 44/

The cabinet crisis of October-November 1954 brought a PKI
request that Njoto be made minister of internal affairs and
Sakirman minister of communications or of public works in the
new cabinet. Although not expecting these appointments, the PKI
has used this method to inform the premier that he needs PKI
support and that rewards for such support are expected. 45/

B. Subnational Organization

Below the national level the PKI organization closely
resembles the regional organization of the Republic. Article 20
of the Party Constitution defines the level of party organization
in each area from the province and city down to the factory and
school.

The highest subnational organization is the provincial
party with its provincial party conference and provincial
committee (Provcom). A recent reorganization by the National
Parliament dividing Kalimantan (Borneo) into three provinces
was shortly followed by a similar reorganization in the PKI
provincial structure. The Republic's provincial breakdown is as
follows: Sumatera Utara (North Sumatra), Sumatera Tengah (Central
Sumatra), Sumatera Selatan (South Sumatra), Djakarta Raya
(Greater Djakarta), Djawa Barat (West Java), Djawa Tengah (Middle
Java), Djawa Timur (East Java), Sulawesi (Celebes), Maluku
(Moluccas), Kalimantan Barat (West Borneo), Kalimantan Timur
(East Borneo) and Kalimantan Selatan (South Borneo) and the Nusa
Tenggara (Southeast Islands), formerly called the Sunda Ketjil
or Lesser Sundas. There is also an area with a special status--
Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta (Special Area of Jogjakarta).

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The party conforms to these provincial divisions with the exception of a single provincial party's serving both Sulawesi and Maluku and Nusa Tenggara's partition between Djawa Timur and Sulawesi/Maluku. On the basis of the current trend, the unit may be expected to split to conform as soon as it is large enough. Conformation is not out of patriotism but in preparation for the 1955 general elections. Jogjakarta, while not given a status equivalent to a province, which it has in the national structure, is given a somewhat different treatment within Djawa Tengah, in that Jogjakarta City and all regencies are secoms under Djawa Tengah Provcom.

Below the provincial level the 1954 Amended Party Constitution made many changes. Article 20 provides for a section party, a section party conference and a section committee (Secom) in regencies (kabupaten) and large cities (kota besar). Prior to the change a regency was scheduled for only a subsection party, etc., the next lower level. The newer system had not been fully adhered to, and investigation indicates that it was planned as an intermediary step to the present organization. The intermediary steps are worth examining as the process of converting to the new organization is slow and not all changes have been reported as yet. Between the province and the regency in Indonesia is a level called a residency. As of late 1953 and early 1954 Sumatra's three provinces and Middle Java had a secom for each residency, with a subsecom for each regency. Scattered areas in East Java followed this pattern. Recent reports show the breaking up of these units into secoms for each regency with, on occasions, a corresponding increase in stature of sub-organizations. The party units in Borneo, which was only recently divided into three provinces, also are beginning to make similar adjustments. So marked is the party's pattern of conforming to its constitution that one may estimate the status of areas for which information has not been received. Appendix B is a list of reported data on the provcom, secom and sub-secom structure of the PKI.

Next in rank below the secom, as mentioned, is the subsecom. Paragraph e of Article 20 provides for subsecoms for subdistricts (ketjamatan) and small cities (kota kecil). The subsecom is further subdivided into resorts (the equivalent of a cell). Paragraph f of the same article provides for resort parties, resort meetings and resort committees (Recoms) in factories, mines, villages, businesses, offices and schools. There are two kinds of recoms, the recom and the recom besar (Great recom), the difference being one of size not status. The recom is considered the basic unit of party structure. A recom may, however, be subdivided into grup, or a recom besar into a sub-resort committee (subrecom).

The terminology used to describe the various levels of organization were changed at a meeting of the Central Committee in October 1953. A comparative list of old and new terminology follows:

Provcom	was formerly	Komissaris Central Comite (KCC)
Secom		Seksi Comite (SC)
Subsecom		Onder-Seksi Comite (OSC)
Recom		Resort Comite (RC)

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Recom Besar was formerly (not previously
existent)

The highest level of authority at the province, section, subsection or large resort level is the respective party conference. At the resort level the equivalent is the resort meeting. Based on the principle of "democratic centralism," each echelon is under the jurisdiction and control of the next higher echelon.

1. The Province

The highest authority of the party province (Provinsi Partai) is the party provincial conference (Konferensi Provinsi Partai). The Constitution requires that it meet every six months. The period of time between conferences may, however, be shortened or extended by a decision of the provincial committee (provcom). The party provincial conference elects the provcom, daily council (Dewan Harian) and secretariat of the provincial party for a period of two years. The daily council and secretariat of the party province are equivalent to the Central Committee's Politburo and Secretariat, with the provcom the provincial counterpart of the Central Committee. The full provcom is required to meet every three months. Corresponding to the departments at Central Committee level, the provcom has divisions (Bagian) for labor, agit-prop, etc. These are represented in the provcom pleno. 47/

The provcom is the direct link in the chain of command between the national party organization and the lower echelons under its jurisdiction. Through the party provincial conference it hears, discusses and validates reports of lower echelon units and directs their activities. 48/ Although the secoms and other lower groups are directly under the province, they often deal directly with the Central Committee. The provcom also is charged with the supervision of party fractions in non-party organizations.

Fees, dues and other financial support received by subordinate units are channeled through the provcom en route to the Central Committee. The provcom retains 90 per cent and passes the remaining 10 per cent on to the Central Committee. The provcom then determines its financial needs and those of the sections, subsections and resorts under its jurisdiction and distributes the money accordingly. 49/

The provcom also is permitted, under special conditions, to accept new party members after the usual period of candidacy. 50/

The importance of the provcom is emphasized by the fact that some provcom leaders are on the Central Committee--Adjitorop, Bachtaruddin, Nursuhud, Perdede and Supit--and the provcom (or its predecessor set-up, the KCC) has proved a stepping-stone to the Central Committee for others. The change in October 1953 from KCC to provcoms was made to provide more on-the-spot supervision of areas than was possible under the old organization.

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The secretaries of the Provcoms are: 51/

East Java - Ruslan
Central Java - Siswojo
West Java - A.Z. Anwar
Djakarta Raya - Pardede
North Sumatra - Adjitorop
Central Sumatra - Nursuhud
South Sumatra - Zailani
Celebes/Moluccas - Supit
West Borneo - Setio
Southeast Borneo - Pradigdo
East Borneo - Effendi

2. The Section

In addition to the section organizations for every regency and large city, called for by the Constitution, there is a section committee (rather than subsection) for each subdistrict (ketjamatan) of Greater Djakarta, which has a status in both party and national framework equivalent to that of a province.

The organization of the party section (Seksi Partai), party section conference (Konferensi Seksi Partai) and section committee (Secom) is similar to the provincial organization. The period between meetings of the party section conference is prescribed as four months subject to changes by the secom. Their responsibilities and functions are the same on a lower level, as their provincial counterparts. The secom, daily council and secretariat are elected for two years. Secom meetings are required every two months. 52/

Although the chain of command below the secom is the subsecom and recom (or recom besar), the subsecom has no jurisdiction over several matters, giving the secom direct control of certain resort activities. Approval of the formation of new recom and recom besar must be given by the secom, rather than the subsecom. 53/ The secom also has the responsibility for validating candidate members' advancement to full party membership, and expulsion of members from the party needs secom approval. 54/ The secom and higher echelons may accept members into the party without a period of candidacy.

To assist the secom in its work are a series of divisions similar to those of the provcom. Some of these division heads and secom leaders have moved on to higher positions, another indication of the road to top party posts.

3. The Subsection

Article 20 of the Party Constitution provides for a party subsection (Subseksi Partai), party subsection conference (Konferensi Subseksi Partai) and subsection committee (subsecom) for each subdistrict (ketjamatan) and small city (kota ketjil). Progress toward this goal is slow but steady.

The party subsection conference meets every two months, subject to changes by the subsecom. The conference elects the committee to serve for one year. The daily council and

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secretariat also are elected and serve in the same capacities as their counterparts at higher levels. The subsecom is assisted by divisions, following the pattern at higher levels. 55/

The subsecom is responsible for and supervises the activities of all recom, recom besar and party fractions in non-party organizations within its jurisdiction. On certain activities, however, the subsecom cannot rule, as outlined in the previous section.

4. The Resort and Great Resort

The 1954 Amended Constitution provided for the first time for two kinds of party resort units: the resort committee (recom) for the party resort, and the great resort committee (recom besar) for the party great resort (resort besar). The two units are equal in rank in the party organization, the difference being chiefly in size. A recom besar is formed when the number of members or candidates exceeds 100. The recom besar may be subdivided into subresort committees (subrecoms), while the resort may be divided into grup (groups). The full membership meeting of the great resort is called a conference; of the resort, a meeting. These are the only differences between the two organizations.

Article 20 of the Constitution provides:

f. For a factory, mine, village, enterprise, office or school there shall be a Party Resort, a Resort Meeting and a Resort Committee (Recom) or Party Great Resort, Party Great Resort Conference and a Great Resort Committee (Recom Besar). The resort is divided into Groups, which consist of, at the most, 7 (seven) persons who work and live close by.

On occasion the abbreviations RP and RL are used. An RP is a resort pabrik, or factory resort; an RL is a resort lokal, or village resort. Either is correctly called a resort, and its committee a recom.

Party resorts may be formed with less than seven members, but such resorts do not form a recom, merely electing a chief and deputy chief. The recom and recom besar are elected by a plenary meeting of their organizations and serve for six months. The size of the recom may vary from three to seven members. Unlike units of higher echelons, the resort does not elect a daily council or secretariat, the recom itself being small enough to direct day-to-day activities. 56/

The Constitution, in Chapter VI, refers to the resort as the "basic unit" of the party. In the parlance of other Communist parties this would be a cell or club. As the basic unit and the one in closest contact with the masses, the resort is charged with a great share of the responsibility for indoctrinating the people, winning converts and maintaining the party line before the public. Every party member, regardless of rank, belongs to a resort. This requirement is largely to assist the party in disciplinary action. Article 49 lists the following responsibilities:

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The Party Resort must endeavor to create close unity between the Party and the masses of people. Responsibilities of the Party Resort are as follows:

a. Conduct propaganda and organizational activities among the masses to clarify the ideas of the party and the decisions of higher party organizations.

b. Study the feelings and aims of the masses and report such immediately to higher party organizations; study the economic, political and cultural lives of the people; and organize the masses to solve their problems themselves.

c. Recruit new members, collect party dues, supervise and examine the reports of party members and see that party discipline is maintained by members.

d. Educate Party members and organize instruction for them.

Although the resort is directly under the subsection in party organization, some of its functions, including the formation of new resorts, are supervised by the section (see II,B,2).

C. Membership

1. Numerical Strength

Estimates of the size of the PKI membership place it between 100,000 and 500,000. The lower number is close to the figure given by D.N. Aidit, the party secretary-general, at the March 1954 Party Congress. His figure was 126,671 members and candidates. He did not give a date for this figure, but it is believed to be as of early 1953. ^{57/} Other reports state that the party gave 126,000 as its membership figure in 1952. ^{58/} Still others have placed the membership at 100,000 excluding candidate members. A party membership of 100,000 members and 26,000 candidates would be a ratio of one candidate for every four members, a ratio that may or may not continue. Indirect confirmation of the figure of 100,000 members is to be found in a January 1953 Central Committee directive on party finances. The report states, "In order to buy ourselves a publishing firm, at least 1,500,000 rupiahs [about \$130,000] would be required, which would mean an average of 15 rupiahs from every member," indicating 100,000 members. ^{59/}

A more recent statement in November 1954, attributed to Perlis Pardede of the Politburo, claimed 500,000 members. This figure may be indicative of recent party growth. ^{60/} A report of September 1954 spoke of recent rapid strides taken in the expansion of party membership. It stated: "During the past year, the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI) has increased its membership throughout Indonesia by 125 percent. Prior to the Ali Cabinet, each full member of the PKI was required to have under his supervision only two candidate members; now each member must have six candidates." ^{61/} (Note the ratio of four candidates per member above.) Language difficulties and party

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double-talk have often confused statements of membership increase, and it is not certain whether the intended figure was 125,000 or 225,000. With the formula of six candidates to one member the party has a potential strength of 875,000 if the membership figure of 125,000 is used, or 1,575,000 if 225,000 is taken as the base. Whichever membership figure is used, the required increase in number of candidates per member would make large membership gains, even by November 1954, a possibility, lending some credence to Pardede's claims.

Other reports have spoken of party growth in various parts of the country, but they cannot be properly evaluated without more statistics. It is known that the party has been strengthened in the Djakarta area and some of the remoter portions of Java and Sumatra. It is also developing in areas where there was little or no activity before--Celebes, Borneo, Nusa Tenggara and the Moluccas.

In addition to party members and candidates, many others, numbering in perhaps the millions, are sympathetic to and support the party. They include many front organizations, such as the labor organization SOBSI, which claims a membership of more than 2,000,000. It is therefore conceivable that the assets of the PKI could reach potentially a strength of 2,000,000 or more. 62/

2. Membership Rules and Procedures

There are two classes of membership in the PKI, members, (anggota) and candidate-members (tjalon-anggota). (These candidates should not be confused with the three Central Committee candidates, who are highly-ranked, full members of the party.) Provisions relating to admission to candidacy or to full membership, as well as rules for expulsion and the rights and responsibilities of members are discussed in Chapter II of the 1954 Party Constitution. Two major changes were made from previous rules on membership, one requiring new members to be Indonesian citizens the other, minor changes in expulsion procedures.

a. Admission to Membership or Candidacy

Article 5 of the Constitution states:

Anyone can become a member who is a citizen and has attained the age of 18 who agrees to the Program and Constitution of the Party, joins and actively participates in a Party organization, obeys Party decisions, pays initiation fees and Party dues, attends meetings and classes of the Party, and reads Party literature.

Candidates for party membership must be nominated by a party member who is required to furnish accurate biographical information and accurate information on the candidate's ideology and character. Before presenting the nomination the member must have furnished the prospective candidate information on the Party Constitution and policies. Prior to confirmation of a candidacy the responsible party committee appoints a group of officials to interview and exchange views with the prospective candidate. 63/

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The length of candidacy varies with the social status of the applicant and his ability to comply with the provisions for membership. The following rules, relevant to the period of candidacy and membership eligibility, are given in Article 8 of the Party Constitution:

Party members are admitted only on an individual basis in accordance with the provisions for membership as stipulated below:

a. Workers, farm workers, poor farmers, poor city dwellers or soldiers can only be accepted for membership upon the recommendation of two Party members, and after a decision of a general meeting of the Group and the Resort with validation by the Secom and after a period of candidacy of 6 months.

b. Middle class farmers, officials, intellectuals and independent workers (doctors, lawyers, etc.), can become Party members upon the recommendation of two Party members, one of whom must have been a member for more than one year continuously, and after a decision of a general meeting of the Group and Resort which has been approved by the Secom, and after having been a candidate for one year.

c. A person belonging to any social circle other than those stipulated in "a" and "b" above can become a member of the Party only upon the recommendation of two Party members, one of whom must have been a Party member for more than three years continuously, and after a general meeting of the Group and Resort and approval of the Secom, and after having been a candidate for two years.

d. Ordinary members of other political parties who have left those parties and desire to enter our Party, can become members only upon the recommendation of two members of the Party, one of whom has been a member for over three years continuously, and after the decision of general meetings of the Group and Resort which has been approved by the Secom.

Members of other political parties who have been local (daerah) officials, but who have left their parties and desire to enter our Party, must be recommended by two members, one of whom must have been a Party member for more than five years continuously. The nomination of such persons must be accepted by the Group and Resort and approved by the Provcom.

Officials of other parties who have occupied high national positions but who have left their parties and desire to enter our Party must be approved by the Central Committee. For all the above groups, a candidacy period of two years is required.

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Because of the closer ties of the bourgeois elements (paragraph b) to the capitalist world, the party requires a longer period of candidacy and indoctrination for them than for the proletarian and agrarian classes (paragraph a)-- following the principles established by Lenin for the gradual integration of all persons into a Communist society. The grouping of the proletariat with the agrarian class follows the practice in the people's democracies of China and the satellites. Because the strength of the movement in these countries is predominantly agrarian, the Communists have set aside temporarily the principle of "dictatorship of the proletariat" and have substituted a united front of proletarian and agrarian classes led by the proletariat.

A candidate member has the same rights and responsibilities as a member except that he is not permitted to vote for officers or on policy matters. The time of candidacy is calculated from the date of confirmation of application for candidacy, and the length may be shortened or extended by the appropriate party committee, depending on the candidate's fulfillment of the provisions for membership. Candidacy also may be revoked before full membership is granted if these provisions are not fulfilled. Candidates, as well as members who change their place of residence, may become candidates or members of the new place by presenting a letter of information from the party committee of his former place of residence. 64/

b. Expulsion or Termination of Membership

Voluntary termination of membership or candidacy may be achieved only after reasons are submitted to the head of the group who in turn passes it on to the recom. At a meeting of the recom the member's or candidate's name is stricken from the rolls and the action is reported to the subsecom.

A member may be automatically dropped from the party register if, for a period of six months:

- (1) he has not taken part in party life;
- (2) he has not undertaken any party work;
- (3) he has failed to pay dues without a valid reason.

He is dropped at a meeting of the group, then a meeting of the resort which sends it on to the Subsecom for approval. 65/ At the resort meeting the member or candidate in question must be present and must be given an opportunity to defend himself. Secom approval is necessary for expulsion even though, under special conditions, the subsecom may take preliminary action. The vote to expel a member must be by a two-thirds majority of those entitled to vote and must be at a full committee meeting. 66/

c. Oath of Membership

The oath of the party is taken by every member:

I ... declare my agreement with the program and Constitution of the Party, and hereby declare my readiness to become a full/or candidate member

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of the PKI. I swear to fulfill all my Party responsibilities, to guard the unity of the Party; to carry out the decisions of the Party to become an example to others in the struggle for our nation and people; to strengthen the relation between the Party and the masses; to strive to deepen my awareness of and to master the principles of Marx-Leninism; to be straightforward and honest towards the Party; to observe Party discipline and to keep watch on the Party's safety. This is my declaration and oath to the Communist Party of Indonesia, the Party that I look to with respect and love.

The oath is taken twice by a party member, once when he becomes a candidate member and again when he becomes a full member, as prescribed in Article 4 of the Constitution.

D. Finances

1. Party Dues

Party dues, on a sliding scale based on a member's monthly income, are prescribed in Chapter IX of the Party Constitution. Dues range from half a rupiah (less than five cents) for those earning less than 150 rupiahs per month (about \$13), to one and a half per cent of gross monthly income for those earning more than 650 rupiahs (a little less than \$60). In addition, a member is required to pay such other assessments and dues as the party may prescribe.

Another source of party revenue discussed in the Constitution is in Article 60:

A party member who receives a position of profit in the name of the party is responsible to turn over to the party all profits therefrom and he shall receive an honorarium according to arrangements established by the Party.

Whether this provision applies to salaries of elected or appointed officials, such as members of Parliament or regional officials, is not known.

Article 61 of the Party Constitution provides that the provcom retains 90 per cent of all dues and other income, and that it turns over the remaining 10 per cent to the Central Committee. The Provcom allots the nine-tenths it retains to cover its own financial needs and those of the secoms, subsecoms and recoms.

2. Financial Problems

Numerous party appeals for additional funds and many reports of financial difficulties, indicate that dues, fees and income from special sales (of postcards, etc.) are insufficient to meet the financial needs of the PKI. The cry for more revenue extends from the Central Committee down to the recom. The usual complaint from above is that the recoms are not collecting all

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they are supposed to collect. Occasional statements also have accused units of withholding part of their funds.

Reports of the financial difficulties of various party organs, notably Harian Rakjat, are frequent. 67/ Every special function--from party congress to a trip by a member of the Central Committee has necessitated collection of additional funds, from contributions, sale of pictures and assessments. 68/

Instructions stress the need for obtaining capital from non-party members. The purpose is two-fold: to win new members and to supplement the limited resources of party members, which the party feels it can assess at almost any time.

No known statute prescribes the contributions from affiliated front organizations. From time to time specific contributions for special purposes have been reported from these groups, but no evidence of any regular transmittal of funds, although probably such an arrangement exists. Some examples of previous financial support, including that of front groups, are as follows:

1. In connection with a visit to Njoto of the Politburo to Sumatra in April 1954 a report said:

On 31 March 1954 the Seksi Komite (SC) of the Partai Komunis Indonesia East Coast Sumatra called a meeting to discuss funds for the expenses of the forthcoming visit of Njoto, member of the PKI Politburo. Jusuf Adjitorop, of the North Sumatra Provincial Committee, announced that anticipated expenses of the visit would be R15,000, of which Sentral Organisasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia (SOBSI) /the labor federation affiliated with the PKI/ would be held responsible for raising R10,000, and such groups as farmer organizations, the World Peace Committee, and Pemuda Rakjat /the Communist youth group/ the balance. As of 3 April only R4,000 had been contributed, and letters were sent to each resort committee in East Coast Sumatra ordering a contribution of R100 each. 69/

2. In November 1953, R200,000 was obtained for the erection of a new headquarters building. Half of this came from the Chung Hua Ch'iao T'uan Tsung Hui, the leading pro-Communist federation of Chinese societies. Another R50,000 came from SOBSI and the rest from private donations. 70/

In addition to these sources, it also has been suggested that the PKI receives funds from the Chinese Communist Embassy, either directly or through such organizations as the Chung Hua Ch'iao T'uan Tsung Hui and others. 71/ Funds from the USSR and other places also have been rumored. These have not been confirmed. Nevertheless, the PKI faces a chronic financial problem. This is one of the motives behind the ceaseless drive for many new members, a drive which has been criticized as drawing too many insecure members into the party.

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3. Party Salaries

Few party personnel receive salaries from the PKI. At the Central Committee and Provincial Committee level (and probably in some of the lower echelons) a few, called "fulltimers," receive a regular stipend from the party. In the Central Committee offices 16 such recipients are listed as receiving from R300 to R950. The period covered was not specified, but is believed to be a year. Those known to have received such remuneration include Pak Asmu, Olohan Hutapea (the former head of the East Java Provcom, brought to Djakarta because of his strong theoretical knowledge; a member of the CCPKI Pleno), D.N. Aidit (the party secretary-general), Hadi, Sudisman (a member of the Politburo), Rachmad, Zain and Achmadsumadi (a member of the Central Committee). Eight typists and couriers also receive a regular salary. Members receiving a salary through some other party means, such as representing the party in Parliament, turn over that salary to the party or relinquish their fulltimers salary. 72/

E. Training

Party training is a continuous process, starting with the first application for membership and ending only when one either leaves the party or reaches the highest party positions. Training is carried on at all party levels and in party-affiliated front organizations. It may consist of general training in party doctrine, affairs and discipline or of special training, such as in agitation and propaganda. Special training is also given for special events as the forthcoming general elections.

Typical of instructions for the new applicant was a booklet prepared by the Central Committee in 1952 which was given to each new applicant for retention. The booklet was called Konstitusi Partai Komunis Indonesia (Constitution of the Communist Party of Indonesia) and consisted of 43 pages divided into six sections:

1. Pendjelasan tentang Kedudukan Konstitusi
(Explanation of the Constitutional Position)
2. Program Umum PKI (General Program of the PKI)
3. Konstitusi PKI (Constitution of the PKI)
[The 1951 Constitution]
4. Pendjelasan Penglaksanaan Fasal 4 Konstitusi
(Explanation of the Realization of Article 4 of the Constitution)
5. Program PKI untuk Pemerintah Nasional Koalisi
(PKI Program for the National Coalition Government)
6. Sembojan Perjuangan (Slogans for the Struggle) 73/

The Article 4 of the 1951 Constitution is virtually the same as Article 8 in the new Party Constitution (see Appendix A), dealing with the membership requirements for the various elements of the nation, such as farmers, workers and small businessmen. A new booklet has probably been issued based on the 1954 Constitution.

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The applicant is required to study the booklet and be able to discuss it and answer questions about it. It is the minimum of information that every party member is expected to know. Training on these aspects does not end at this point. Even members of several years are expected to attend lectures and discussion groups on these subjects and to reinforce their knowledge by reading other standard Communist literature. High on the list are the works of Marx, Engels, Stalin, Lenin, Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi and Musso's Djalan Baru (New Road). Other books mentioned specifically in the Draft Program of the PKI, adopted at the Central Committee meeting of 6-8 October 1953, included the following: 74/

Lenin's Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disease

Stalin's History of the Soviet Communist Party and Socialist Economic Questions in the USSR

Malenkov's Report to the 19th Congress on the Activities of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Mao Tse-tung's On Contradiction

Members also are required to have a fair knowledge of world history and some knowledge of political science. A list of 163 questions on these subjects was given party members in North Sumatra well in advance of the actual examination time. A leader of the North Sumatra PKI stated that "the questions were not just a test of facts, but also of the 'revolutionary spirit' and would enable him "to tell who the true Communists in his organization were." Few were expected to achieve satisfactory grades in the examination, even with the advance preparation; low grades would emphasize the need for additional training. The questions are so pinpointed that probably few Western scholars other than history or political science specialists could achieve a high grade without extensive research. 75/

As part of their training all members and candidates are required to read the three major party organs, the daily Harian Rakyat (Peoples Daily), the monthly Bintang Merah (Red Star) and the PKI Bulletin. Members are supposed to hold discussions on items appearing in these publications. 76/

Because of the rapid growth of the party and the shortage of trained leaders, much emphasis is placed on the training of party cadres. Typical of this training is a program under way in Djakarta Raja Provcom. Training courses are held in each secom and subsecom and at provcom level. To the provcom classes are sent representatives of each sub-unit, usually two or three of the key personnel, to receive instruction from high officials of the provcom. Classes are held from three to six hours a week and last for several months. The personnel attending these classes are then expected to conduct classes at their own echelons to pass on the teachings of the leaders to the membership at large. 77/

The party leaders are continually stating that more training is required or that training is behind schedule. They urge continued study and intensive training of cadres for the formation of new units. Currently training for the scheduled elections is high on the agenda.

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The PKI uses the printed word extensively to retain and gain support. Besides the many leaflets on individual subjects and the translations of works of the past and present leaders of international Communist thinking, the party publishes newspapers and periodicals to aid its cause. As mentioned, some of these, notably Harian Rakyat and Bintang Merah, are required reading. The party has other publications, some national and some local. Production of the key publications, including translations of foreign writers, is controlled by the Jajasan Pembaruan (Modern Institute) in Djakarta, established in September 1952, Djaetun, the institute's managing director, 78/ is editor of Bintang Merah, its representative on the CCPKI Pleno and a former member of both the Central Committee and the PKI fraction in Parliament. The staff of directors also includes Aidit, Lukman and Njoto of the Politburo and Pardede of the Central Committee. The Institute reportedly is housed in the headquarters building of the Central Committee. 79/

Below are 11 publications attributable to the PKI or PKI-sponsored front organizations. The list is not complete. The publications are given in alphabetical order rather than in order of importance.

1. Analisa (Analysis). A November 1953 report referred to Analisa as a new pro-Communist weekly in Djakarta. The editor is Daniel Abdullah, a Communist and formerly chief editor of the Menara Buruh on the island of Bangka. 80/

2. Bebas (Be Liberated). Reports of a publication by this name were made as early as September 1952, when it was reported to be suffering financial difficulties and that subscriptions and advertisements were not sufficient to meet publishing costs. 81/ Two weeks later R2,000 reportedly were needed in three days to purchase issue number six from the printers. 82/ A report of December 1952 mentioned that issue number nine was not published because of lack of funds and that the PKI owed the printer R7,000. 83/ In February 1954 a report noted that the PKI of North Sumatra would start publishing Bebas about mid-March. Whether this is to be a continuation of the previous publication or an entirely new one of the same name is not clear. 84/

3. Bendera Buruh (Labor's Flag). Published in Djakarta on an irregular basis by SOBSI, Bendera Buruh is sold primarily to PKI members. A July 1953 report stated that of 6,000 copies printed at that time, about half remained unsold. The editor of the publication is Sugiri, deputy secretary of the SOBSI Information Bureau. 85/

4. Bintang Merah (Red Star). Supposedly a monthly, although often two issues are combined, Bintang Merah is one of the leading PKI publications and is required reading for all members. In it appear articles by key PKI men as well as pronouncements of the party line and policies. The March-April 1954 issue carried the proceedings of the Party Congress and a full text of the revised Party Constitution. Djaetun is the editor. A July 1953 report lists 8,000 copies sold of a total printing of 11,000 on prior issues. In the spring of 1953 the

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periodical received R25,000 for the publication of New China, a publication for the Chinese minority in Indonesia. 86/

5. Harian Berita Indonesia (Indonesia News Daily). The PKI reportedly bought this paper in the name of Tachsin, the chief editor. 87/

6. Harian Rakjat (People's Daily). Although a Communist paper for several years, it was reportedly purchased by the Communists on 1 October 1953. The corporate shares were taken by the PKI, Jajasan Pembaruan, the Estate Workers Federation of the Republic of Indonesia (Sarikat Buruh Perkebunan Republik Indonesia - SARBUPRI) and the Railway Workers Union (Sarikat Buruh Kereta Api - SBKA). The paper also has been reported as owned by the weekly Sunday Courier. The last two are important Communist labor organizations in Indonesia. 88/ Although required reading for all PKI members as the leading party organ, its paid circulation is reportedly only between 6,000 and 12,000, and the paper is almost constantly in financial difficulties. Only the support of Siauw Giok-tjoan, a wealthy Indonesian Chinese and former editor of the paper, and contributions such as funds reported from the Chinese Communist Embassy in Djakarta and the Soviet Embassy in Bangkok, keep the paper from folding. 89/ The estimated monthly deficit is about R5,000. Siauw, who resigned to take active part in Communist affairs affecting the Chinese community, reportedly is scheduled to become the editor of a Chinese language edition of the paper. An April 1955 edition of the paper lists Njoto, Supeno and Naiboho as editors and Naiboho as the "responsible" editor. H. Olena was the paper's representative in the CCPKI Pleno in 1953. 90/

7. Lukisan (Art). Published monthly in Medan, Lukisan covers such fields as drama, films, art and sports. Its first issue of 10,000 was non-political. Its staff is largely made up of PKI members and members of Communist front groups. The editor-in-chief is B. Siagian; editors are B. Harahap and Tamas Anwar. All three are PKI members. 91/

8. Pendorong (Stimulus). First published in Medan in September 1952, this paper has fluctuated through several stages of control between Abdul Xarim MS and the accepted leader of the North Sumatra PKI, Adjitorop. Its estimated circulation is 3,000. 92/ Recent financial support has come from SARBUPRI, and it is possible that SARBUPRI may take over publication. 93/

9. PKI Bulletin. Three thousand copies of the Bulletin are sold to PKI units as required reading for all PKI members. No definite publication schedule has been reported. 94/

10. Sunday Courier. This weekly is published and sold in West Java. A July 1953 estimate put the circulation at 5,500 of 7,000 (copies sold). The paper has been reported the owner of Harian Rakjat. 95/

11. Zaman Baru (New Season). Zaman Baru is published as a weekly in Surabaya by the Peoples Cultural League (Lembaga Kebudayaan Rekjat - LEKRA), a Communist front organization. The weekly is available in Java and Sumatra and in July 1953 its circulation was reported as 5,000. 96/

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~~SECRET~~ 4III. FRONT ORGANIZATIONS*

The PKI, in its endeavor to win converts and support from all sectors of the population, has organized special groups to appeal to these sectors. The front organizations are affiliated with the PKI and most have representatives on the plenos of the party at all levels, which coordinate party and front group activities. In addition PKI party fractions in all major front groups at both the national and local level ensure control and direction from above. In preparation for the forthcoming elections members of the front organizations are being encouraged to join the PKI itself.

The composition of the party fraction in the organizations, or the extent of its influence, is not always known to members of the host organization, particularly if the organization is not under party control or is not usually associated with the PKI.

The most important of the front groups are in the fields of labor, agriculture, veterans affairs, youth, culture and peace.

A. Central Organization of Trade Unions for all Indonesia
(Sentral Organisasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia - SOBSI)

SOBSI is the largest and most powerful of the PKI front organizations. It is the largest labor federation in Indonesia and is composed of 37 vertical unions and 139 local unions directly affiliated with the central organization. ^{97/} Membership estimates and claims range from 800,000 to more than 2,500,000. The most commonly accepted figure is slightly less than 1,000,000. SOBSI is a member of the Communist-controlled World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and is usually represented at WFTU conferences. ^{98/}

Among the most important components of SOBSI are:

SARBUPRI (Sarikat Buruh Perkebunan Republik Indonesia, Union of Estate Workers of the Republic of Indonesia)

SBKA (Sarikat Buruh Kereta Api, Railroad Workers Union)

SBPP (Sarikat Buruh Pelabuhan dan Pelajaran, Dockworkers and Sailors Union)

SBKI (Sarikat Buruh Kendaraan Indonesia, Transport Workers of Indonesia)

PERBUM (Persatuan Buruh Minyak, Oil Workers Union)

*See also chart 4 in Appendix D, illustrating PKI-front relationship.

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Of these SARBUPRI is by far the largest and strongest with a membership of approximately 300,000. 99/

The leadership of SOBSI is vested in the Sentral Biro (Central Bureau), with Secretary-General Njono and Deputy Secretary-General Munir as the key figures. 100/ Both are members of the CCPKI Pleno. Djokosudjono and Werdojo, the SOBSI representatives in Parliament, also are members of the CCPKI Pleno, 101/ and Djokosudjono is a member of the CCPKI as well. 102/

SOBSI was formed at a preparatory conference in November 1946 and formalized at the first SOBSI congress, Malang, May 1947. 103/ Although the organization originally contained elements of most political sentiments, SOBSI is now completely under Communist control. Its history is one of an active tool of the Communists. Because of its strength in key fields of the Indonesian economy, SOBSI has been able to effectively disrupt that economy through strikes. The union played a minor role in the Madiun Affair in 1948 and in the early 1950's engaged in a series of strikes in violation of a government ban. It was the 1951 series of strikes that caused several Communist leaders to be arrested and others, such as Aidit and Lukman, to flee. 104/ Since governments more friendly to the Communists have been in power there have been very few SOBSI strikes--a situation likely to be reversed if the anti-Communists win the next election.

Although SOBSI itself has not always been in good financial condition, it has been an important source of funds for the PKI. 105/ To this end it collects funds from its own members and member organizations and also from such other front groups as the Indonesian Women's Movement. 106/ In the past SOBSI has received in addition financial assistance from pro-Communist Chinese organizations. 107/ Expenses of the second SOBSI congress, held in January 1955, made special appeals for funds necessary. The devices used by the PKI, the selling of cards and pictures of party and national figures also are used by SOBSI. 108/

The second congress of SOBSI was held in Djakarta 9-23 January 1955. At the congress it was stated that SOBSI itself would not put up candidates in the 1955 elections but would support the candidates of the PKI, some of whom may be SOBSI officials. To bolster election strength all SOBSI members were urged to join the PKI. In addition to the usual Communist resolutions condemning capitalism in general and the West in particular, SOBSI asked for wage increases and restoration of cuts in the government workers' traditional Moslem New Year bonuses. 109/ The following seven decisions, not publically announced, were reported also reached at the January meeting:

1. SOBSI will endeavor to avoid strikes and violence during the tenure in office of the Ali-Arifin cabinet.
2. In its propaganda to SOBSI members and the public concerning the general elections, SOBSI will support PKI candidates and attempt to discredit candidates of opposition parties.

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3. SOBSI will instruct all branches that SOBSI members should follow the teachings of local PKI cadre courses.
4. If after the coming elections the PKI is unable to secure a part in the government, SOBSI branches will hold as many strikes and present as many claims as possible against industries and firms.
5. SOBSI will follow the policies of the WFTU and obey its decisions.
6. SOBSI will be more active on behalf of the peace movement.
7. In the event of war between the Communists and the Capitalists, SOBSI will call strikes in all foreign-owned enterprises. 110/

The role of SOBSI in Indonesian Communism is second only to that of the PKI. With increasing PKI fractions in SOBSI unions, and increased co-membership in SOBSI and PKI by both leaders and members, it may soon be difficult to draw a clear line of demarcation between the two units.

B. Union of Former Armed Combatants of Indonesia (Persatuan Bekas Pedjuang Bersendjata Seluruh Indonesia - PERBEPBSI)

A PKI front organization rapidly growing in size and importance, the Union of Former Armed Combatants of Indonesia (PERBEPBSI) reportedly had a membership of 205,000 in November 1954. 111/ The organization, according to its revised by-laws of 1954, is composed of "157 former combatant organizations throughout Indonesia and was formed between 23 and 30 December 1951 with the charter of the organization." 112/ It is directed by the Dewan Pimpinan Pusat (Central Governing Council), which is headed by General Chairman Supardi, First Deputy Chairman K. Utomo and Second Deputy Chairman S. Mustaman. 113/

PERBEPBSI is composed mostly of veterans of the anti-Dutch wars. General Sudirman, late chief of staff of the Indonesian Army and national hero of these wars, is considered to be the organization's hero and in honor of him the group refers to itself as "Sons of Sudirman." 114/ There have been many reports that the organization is an active armed force. One report of late October 1954 states that it has cached materiel for 50,000 men and that Iwa Kusumasumantri, the pro-Communist minister of defense, has promised additional materiel support. 115/

In its early days PERBEPBSI posed as an organization of veterans seeking economic and other aid for veterans. Working through a government bureau similar to the Veterans Administration in the United States, PERBEPBSI was able to secure funds to set up many of its members in businesses which served the double purpose of earning money for the individuals and the organization, and acting as subsidiary overt organs of PERBEPBSI. 116/ Some financial assistance also has been received from pro-Communist Chinese groups. 117/

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Finances have been a source of internal struggle, and many leaders have been accused of embezzling organization funds for personal use. 118/ Strict disciplinary procedures, however, have quelled most of the internal friction.

In its activities the organization supports the PKI. It advocates the PKI "line." Supporting PKI demands for action against the Darul Islam, PERBEPBSI has offered military aid to the Indonesian government for such action. It also has offered to keep order during the forthcoming elections. 119/

PKI control of PERBEPBSI is maintained through a PKI fraction directly under the supervision of Sakirman of the PKI Politburo. Members of this element include PERBEPBSI General Chairman Supardi, First Deputy Chairman Utomo, S. Utarjo, Mohammed Amin and Mohammed Said. 120/ Individual sub-units of PERBEPBSI also are controlled by PKI fractions under the secoms and provcoms. 121/

C. Indonesian Farmers Union (Barisan Tani Indonesia - BTI)

The chief PKI front organization for work among the peasant classes of Indonesia is the Barisan Tani Indonesia (BTI), formed shortly after World War II as a non-partisan organization, it has undergone many changes--groups breaking away and other joining. In September 1953 another large peasant organization, the Indonesian Peasants Foundation (Rukun Tani Indonesia - RTI) merged with the BTI to form a single large Communist front group. At the "fusion congress," as the September 1953 conference was called, some non-Communist elements were expelled. 122/

The leading figures in the BTI--which has made membership claims varying from 150,000 to 350,000--are Sardjono, the secretary-general; Hartojo and Subroto, deputy secretaries-general; and S.M. Tarigan, who holds a post in the Indonesian Ministry of Agrarian Affairs. 123/ Sardjono also represents the BTI on the CCPKI Pleno. 124/

The organization's principal aim is to win peasant support for PKI agrarian policies. For this purpose the BTI is organizing units throughout the country, giving special attention to such predominantly agricultural areas as North Sumatra, East Java and Borneo. So extensive is the organization of the BTI that it has a representation in the Indonesian Parliament--currently Sardjono and Subroto. Tauchid, who was expelled at the time of the RTI-BTI merger, formerly represented the BTI, giving it three seats. After his expulsion he kept his seat but switched his affiliation to the Gerakan Tani Indonesia, a rival group. 125/

The BTI is actively preparing for the forthcoming elections. Many BTI officials were originally listed under the hammer-and-sickle emblem, which at first designated PKI and non-party candidates but later was limited to the PKI. PKI fractions within the BTI have been active in recent months in attempting to persuade all BTI members to join the PKI as well. 126/

Because of the importance of the agrarian population, the BTI has become one of the most important front groups of the PKI.

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~~SECRET~~D. People's Youth (Pemuda Rakjat)

Shortly after the end of World War II a leftist youth group was formed under the name of Socialist Youth of Indonesia (Pemuda Sosialis Indonesia - PESINDO). At its third conference in November 1950 the name was changed to People's Youth (Pemuda Rakjat). This organization is the link representing Indonesian youth in the chain of Communist front organizations. Its rules limit membership to youth of both sexes between the ages of 14 and 30. 127/

The Pemuda Rakjat states its aims in the same terms as do Communist youth groups throughout the world--peace, anti-fascism, anti-colonialism, promotion of the rights of youth. It is a member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), having taken over the membership of the Badan Kongres Pemuda (Organization of Youth Congresses) in 1951. 128/ Since then Pemuda Rakjat has had representatives at all important conferences of the WFDY and the International Union of Students (IUS). 129/ In December 1953 Sukatno, secretary-general of Pemuda Rakjat, was named a member of the Executive Council of the WFDY and Baharuddin, assistant secretary-general, was named to the WFDY General Council. 130/ Hamzah Surjono is the permanent Pemuda Rakjat delegate to the WFDY Secretariat in Budapest. 131/

In all its activities the Pemuda Rakjat works closely with the PKI and other Communist front groups, such as SOBSI and the BTI. In late 1953 Setiadi, then secretary-general, reportedly represented Pemuda Rakjat on the CCPKI Pleno. Possibly Sukatno, current secretary-general, is now sitting on the Pleno in his place. 132/

There is no accurate information on membership of the Pemuda Rakjat. Estimates have ranged from 15,000 to 150,000. 133/ Most reliable estimates are closer to the lower figure. Branches are spread throughout the country, and in the past the organization has acted for the PKI in areas where no organized PKI unit existed. It is among the most important PKI front organizations.

E. Indonesian Women's Movement (Gerakan Wanita Indonesia - GERWANI)

The leading pro-Communist women's organization in Indonesia was formed in 1950 as the Public-Spirited Indonesian Women's Movement (Gerakan Wanita Indonesia Serban - GERWIS). It dropped the words "Public-Spirited" at a March 1954 congress of the organization. 134/ Although at its start its membership was only about 2,000 or 3,000, estimates place current strength at more than 25,000. 135/

The organization is directed by its Central Executive Council (Dewan Pimpinan Pusat - DPP). Mrs. S.K. Trimurti was listed as general chairman in May of 1954, and Mrs. Umi Sardjono as chairman. 136/ Both women have been active and prominent in the movement since its inception. Other prominent figures include Mrs. Suharti and Mrs. Mudigdo. Mrs. Mudigdo is a member of the PKI fraction in the Indonesian Parliament, a former member of the PKI Central Committee and is the mother of Mrs. D.N. Aidit, wife of the PKI secretary-general.

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GERWANI is affiliated with the international Communist front organization for women's groups, the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF). 137/ In association with this membership GERWANI has invited delegates from other member organizations to its congress in Indonesia and has in turn been invited to send representatives abroad to other national congresses as well as to WIDF functions. 138/

GERWANI participates in all PKI activities. It runs a cadre course for PKI women and contributes to the party coffers. 139/ Its financial situation, however, has not always been satisfactory. In September 1953 GERWANI failed to contribute her usual monthly sum of R25,000 to the SOBSI treasury for eventual turnover to the PKI and asked for financial assistance from the General Association of Overseas Chinese Groups (Chung Hua Ch'iao T'uan Tsung Hui - CHCTTH), the leading pro-Communist Chinese federation in the country and often financial rescuer of the PKI and its affiliated groups. 140/ The only subsequent report on GERWANI finances was in March 1954, it discussed the necessity of raising funds for the congress held at the end of the month because of GERWANI financial difficulties.

Current activities include support of the PKI in all its activities and running candidates for both the Indonesian Parliament and the Constituent Assembly under the PKI symbol. 141/

F. People's Cultural League (Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat - LEKRA)

Available reports on the People's Cultural League do not show a date of formation, but it is known to have existed before February 1951. LEKRA is the cultural front organization of the PKI devoted ostensibly to the propagation and preservation of the culture of the nation, but in fact primarily to art, literature and culture of a leftist nature. Among the media used for the dissemination of LEKRA material are the Zaman Baru and the Harian Rakjat, for which LEKRA composes a cultural page once a week. 142/

LEKRA is active in other Communist front activities also. It sent a nine-member delegation to Bucharest in July 1953 for the Third World Youth Congress. 143/ In August 1954 it joined with Communist front groups in Medan to form a Committee for the Protection of the Rights of Youth. The founding meeting was held in PERBEPBSI headquarters in Medan. 144/

Officials of LEKRA reported in mid-1952 were: 145/

Chairman - Hardjito
Secretary - M. Hamid
Treasurer - Sobron Aidit (brother of D.N. Aidit,
PKI secretary-general)

A June 1953 report listed the following councillors of the organization, probably supplementing to the above list rather than replacing it: 146/

Raden Sudjonodiputro
Raden Djojosebroto
Raden Mas Sudirman
Dr. I.A. Mochtar
Henk Ngantung

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This report stated that the councillors of the organization have direct access to LIANG Shang-yuan, cultural attache of the Chinese Communist Embassy in Djakarta, who would provide an excellent channel for Chinese Communist propaganda to the Indonesian people.

Although LEKRA is one of the smaller front groups and perhaps less known than most of the other fronts, it is an important cog in the PKI machinery.

G. Committee for World Peace (Komite Perdamaian Dunia)

The Indonesian Committee for World Peace, an affiliate of the World Peace Council (WPC), is also known by such other names as the Indonesian Peace Council and the Komite Pembela Perdamaian Dunia untuk Indonesia (Indonesian Committee for the Defense of World Peace). It was established 5 July 1950 as an outgrowth of several smaller local peace groups in the country, 147/ which it now serves as headquarters. Its earliest office was that of a SOBSI-affiliated union and its meetings were held in the SOBSI headquarters building in Djakarta. The first officers of the group were Islan and Mrs. Kartowijono. 148/

The Committee for World Peace is one of the many PKI front groups. In the Central Committee Pleno it is represented by Njoto, a member of the Politburo. 149/ The Djakarta branch is headed by Aidit and Sudisman, also Politburo members, an indication of the importance the PKI gives to this phase of front activity. 150/

The committee is severely handicapped by a shortage of funds. In an effort to broaden the base of support it was re-organized with several non-Communists in key positions, including members of the cabinet, members of Parliament and other leading officials such as the mayor of Djakarta. 151/

In January 1954 the committee held its first national conference in Djakarta, inviting members of the World Peace Council. 152/ It sent delegates to the meeting of Asian-Pacific secretary-generals of the World Peace Council in Peiping in April 1954 and to the WPC executive session in Vienna in January 1955. 153/ The 1955 session launched a campaign to obtain signatures on petitions to outlaw atomic war preparations. A delegation headed by the committee's chairman, Purbodiningrat, was to attend the Helsinki meeting of the World Peace Council in June 1955.

The current leadership of the Committee for World Peace is as follows: 154/

Chairman	Purbodiningrat
Deputy Chairman	Prijono
" "	Setiadi
" "	Hadji Siradjudin Abbas (member of Parliament)
" "	Mrs. Arudji Kartawinata
" "	Oei Liong Thay
" "	Astra Winata
" "	Mrs. Salawati Daud (member of Parliament)
Secretary-General	Suroso

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Chairman Purbodiningrat is a university professor and, before the hammer-and-sickle was dropped as a symbol for non-party candidates, appeared on the candidate roster for PKI and non-party candidates. 155/

The Committee for World Peace is one of the smaller and more poorly organized front groups of the PKI, but nevertheless an important front.

H. Indonesian Citizenship Conference Organization (Badan Permusjawaratan Kewarganegaraan Indonesia - BAPERKI)

The organization meeting of BAPERKI took place on 13 March 1954 in the Hsin Ming Hui Building in Djakarta. Under the temporary chairmanship of Thio Thiam Tjong of the Chinese Democratic Party of Indonesia (Partai Demokrat Tionghoa Indonesia - PDTI), the meeting was called to form an organization to carry out work that the PDTI had been unable to do in its six years of existence. The BAPERKI Constitution described its aims:

1. To promote a nation-wide campaign for Indonesian Chinese to become legal Indonesian citizens.
2. To promote the principles of democracy and the rights of man.
3. To promote the feeling of equality and equal opportunity among citizens regardless of extraction, cultural background, customs and religion. 156/

The organization was declared open to all, but was primarily aimed at the more than 2,500,000 Chinese residents of Indonesia. Despite the tone of its stated goals, the organization is but a tool of the PKI. Evidence of Communist control can be found in the affiliations of many of the officers, notably of Chairman Siauw Giok-tjhan and Treasurer Ang Jan-guan. 157/ Siauw was formerly the editor of the Harian Rakjat, the PKI daily, and its leading financial backer. Ang is affiliated with the leading pro-Communist Chinese organizations in Djakarta. 158/

BAPERKI announced that it would enter candidates for the 1955 parliamentary elections in an effort to obtain full citizenship for Indonesian Chinese. In preparation, as well as to propagate its aims, BAPERKI is establishing branches throughout Indonesia. 159/

Six months after the organization of BAPERKI an official of the Indonesian Ministry of Interior reportedly stated that the organization was losing strength and was no longer a significant political force. The validity of this statement has not been confirmed. 160/

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~~SECRET~~IV. RELATIONS WITH OTHER COMMUNIST GROUPS

Since the PKI's early relations with Dutch Communist groups (see Part I), the Indonesian party has had contact with other Communist parties throughout the world and with international Communist organizations. The previous chapter has discussed to some extent PKI front organizations' membership in world-wide Communist counterparts.

While there is no doubt that contact exists between the PKI and other parties, reports of the immediate channel for the PKI's directions from the world Communist hierarchy and of its paths of communication vary widely.

A. The USSR

Two recent statements by PKI leaders portray opposite views on relations between the PKI and Russia. On 21 February 1955, in an article in Harian Rakjat, PKI Deputy Secretary-General Njoto stated, "We will remain in allegiance to the Soviet Union.... Socialism without proletarian dictatorship is just nonsense." 161/ Four days later in Keng Po PKI Secretary-General Aidit stated, "The Indonesian Communist Party does not follow in Moscow's steps. It follows a nationalist policy....the Communist Party agrees with the Parliamentary system." He also said that he could not see any possibility of war between Indonesia and the Soviet Union. 162/ While it would appear that there is considerable disagreement between the two statements, some background information serves to clear the air. At the time Aidit was still on trial for insulting Vice-President Hatta, a charge on which he was convicted. Moreover, Njoto's statement had caused some furor in the local anti-Communist and neutralist press. Aidit's statement appears, therefore, to have been made (a) to calm the furor caused by Njoto's statement and (b) to give Aidit the appearance of being a nationalist first and a Communist second. In actuality there seems to be little doubt of PKI allegiance to Moscow.

PKI contact with Russian and international Communism has a long history. When some of the early PKI leaders were forced to flee Indonesia in the 1920's, several went to Moscow. One of them, Semaun, is still there as an employee of Radio Moscow. 163/ Musso was also in Moscow for many years, serving for a period as a member of one of the Comintern's executive bodies. When he returned to Indonesia in 1948 he came from Moscow, with a new program for the PKI as well as instructions and criticisms from above. Significantly, he arrived one month before the Madiun Affair. 164/

Until 1954 there was no Soviet Embassy in Indonesia. Since Indonesian leaders did not travel much in Europe (although many minor officials attended various front meetings and Aidit and Njoto were in Europe for a short time in 1953), other channels of communication were necessary. Four major channels have been suggested and possibly all were in use at one time or another: (1) the Australian Communist Party; (2) the Soviet Embassy in Bangkok; (3) the Chinese Communist Embassy in Djakarta and (4) George Afrin, TASS correspondent. In the past such international

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front organizations as WFTU and the World Peace Council have served as instruction channels and may also serve the same function for the PKI.

The Soviet Embassy in Bangkok and George Afrin seem to be the most probable points of contact. There is little to support the Australian channel. The Chinese Communist Embassy's role would depend on any Sino-Soviet agreement on a sphere of influence in Indonesia or the entire Far East. The Peiping Embassy undoubtedly has a green light from Moscow in dealing with the overseas Chinese in Indonesia. Its jurisdiction over the PKI, however, is doubtful. Conjectures were made when Aidit took control of the PKI from Alimin that it was the result of a struggle between Moscow and Peiping oriented groups, the Peiping faction losing.

Since 1 September 1954 an official Soviet diplomatic mission has been in Indonesia.

1. Contact through the Australian Communist Party

Reportedly there has been long contact between the Australian and Indonesian Communist Parties, although little tangible evidence is available. Laurie Arcns, the second highest figure man in the Australian Communist Party, was an honored guest and speaker at the PKI Congress of March 1954 and mentioned the long friendship of the two parties. 165/ In response M.H. Lukman, who holds the same position in the PKI, attended the Australian party congress in October 1954. 166/ Other evidence of close contact between the two parties is scant, except for occasional travelers, and no evidence that the Australian party was being used to pass instructions to the PKI from Moscow exists. Analysts who believe that it was the link usually speculate that it was used to prevent the Chinese Communists from seizing direct control of the PKI.

2. Contact through the Soviet Embassy in Bangkok

The Soviet Embassy in Bangkok appears to be one of the most logical channels for the PKI before the opening of the Russian Embassy in Djakarta; it was the nearest official Russian installation to Djakarta, and entry into and exit from Thailand are not difficult. In May 1954 Soffian Nur, a PKI leader and active organizer of PERBEPBSI, was reported traveling to Bangkok to contact the Soviet Embassy there. He also was described as a means of PKI contact with the Malayan Communist Party and as an alleged member of that party. He is reported to have used the name of Lubis in Singapore and to have been an unofficial TASS representative in Indonesia. 167/ The latter statement is significant in view of speculation that George Arifin, TASS correspondent, was also an official contact man.

3. Contact through the Chinese Communist Embassy in Djakarta

Conjectures on the use of the Chinese Communist Embassy in Djakarta as a channel of communication are based on four points: (1) Alimin, former head of the PKI, spent several years in

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Peiping and was an admirer of Mao and of Chinese Communist methods; (2) Aidit and Lukman fled to Peiping to avoid arrest in 1951; (3) Formal contact between the PKI and the Chinese Embassy has been carried on at Politburo level; and (4) funds to aid the PKI and its various front groups have come from pro-Communist Chinese organizations in Djakarta and, reportedly, directly or indirectly from the embassy.

These points show a close relationship between the PKI and the Chinese Communists, although they do not necessarily indicate a channel of communications or a chain of command.

4. Contact through a TASS Correspondent

George Afrin has been the leading TASS correspondent in Indonesia almost continuously since the end of World War II. He has made trips home to Russia but he has always returned. He has kept in close contact with PKI and front group leaders, and his profession has facilitated his traveling throughout Indonesia and the Far East. Observers of Indonesian affairs have strongly suspected that he was the main channel of communications before the opening of the Soviet Embassy. 168/ One American correspondent who spent many years in Indonesia said that most newsmen in Indonesia considered Afrin to be the channel. 169/

B. Communist Party of China and Indonesian Chinese

Official contact between the PKI and the Chinese Communist Embassy and pro-Communist Chinese organizations in Indonesia is carried on by Sudisman, a member of the PKI Politburo. 170/ Significantly, Sudisman is also the treasurer of the PKI and these Chinese organizations are an important source of revenue for the party. 171/

Since the Communist victory in China much of the propaganda material arriving in Indonesia has come from Peiping, not only for the use of the overseas Chinese but for Indonesians as well.

In the field of mass organizations, Peiping is the Far East headquarters for some of the world-wide Communist organizations, such as WFTU and the World Peace Committee.

Through all these channels, and through PKI leaders who visited China, Peiping has been endeavoring to influence the PKI. It is not clear, as yet, whether the ouster of Alimin will greatly affect relations between the PKI and Peiping. Nor is it clear how the opening of the Soviet Embassy in Djakarta may affect relations. Relations between Peiping and the overseas Chinese are still close and probably will remain so. Through such organizations as BAPERKI Peiping may be able to enter and influence the PKI via the back door.

C. Philippine Communist Party (PKP)

There have been reports that the PKI maintained contact with Luis Taruc, the recently convicted leader of the Philippine Communist Party (PKP). One report stated that this contact was maintained through Zailani of the PKI Central Committee. 172/

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Others have stated that contact is made through the open mails via Medan or via courier through Borneo. Although Indonesian mail is censored, a PKI man in the post office is believed to be intercepting PKI mail before censorship. 173/ The PKI is not believed to be giving any directions to the PKP, although it may have served as a courier for someone else.

D. Malayan Communist Party (MCP)

Several different versions of the method used to maintain contact between the PKI and the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) have been reported. One late 1954 report was that the only contact is through Sarwono S. Sutardjo, a PKI member of the Indonesian Parliament. His chief point of contact was said to be a Malay named Mustafa who was given a position in the Indonesian attorney general's office through the intercession of Sutardjo. 174/

Most of the other reported mail and courier contacts between the PKI and MCP pass through Medan, including the same mail channels mentioned for the PKP. 175/ Chinese and Malayan couriers reportedly operate between Medan and Malaya. 176/ Soffian Nur, of PERBEPBSI, has been reported to be one courier and a member of the MCP, allegedly under the alias of Lubis. 177/ PERBEPBSI also has been reported working closely with the Malayan Races Liberation Army (MRLA), the Communist army of Malaya. 178/

E. Other Foreign Communist Parties

The usual Communist amenities are exchanged between the PKI and other foreign Communist groups. On the occasion of congresses, liberation days, birthdays or deaths of leaders, the traditional messages of greetings or condolences are sent. The issue of Bintang Merah for the March 1954 party congress contained several pages of greetings from Communist parties in the free world and behind the Iron Curtain. Delegates also have been exchanged for such affairs in the past. In general, friendly relationships are maintained with every party meeting the approval of the Cominform.

F. Partai Murba

The Partai Murba (Proletarian Party), often called a Trotskyite or a national Communist party, which grew out of a split between Tan Malaka and the PKI, is one of the few Communist parties in the world not on friendly terms with the PKI. Although many attempts have been made to heal the rift, particularly since the death of Tan Malaka, these have not been successful.

The bitterness and rivalry between the two parties has led to exchange of many strong propaganda attacks. The two most common charges are that (1) the other party is sabotaging the revolution and (2) that the other party is pro-Dutch--the two severest charges that one Indonesian Communist can levy against another. In April 1954 the Partai Murba, led by Kobarsih, a Partai Murba member of Parliament, made the following criticism of the PKI:

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1. The PKI is not opposing fascism, imperialism and capitalism since it has joined the Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI) in supporting the present government.
2. Since the PKI has thus compromised with capitalism and imperialism, it has disqualified itself as the true representative of the proletarian masses.
3. The PKI is playing politics for its own interest to the detriment of the proletarian movement.
4. The PKI is anti-religious.
5. Partai Murba asks why the PKI does not include patriotism and liberty in its united front slogan of communism, socialism and nationalism. 179/

Kobarsih also attacked the PKI as "genuine imperialists utilizing Communist slogans to brink back Dutch imperial powers to Indonesia." 180/ The Murba charge opened with the statement:

In connection with the efforts of certain parties to equate the Murba Party with the PKI, presently led by Aidit, and to protect the good name of the Murba Party, it is stated that: the Murba Party's policy is a policy which is consistently revolutionary and that continuously and fully opposes every policy of opportunism such as Linggadjati, Renville, RTC* and any other policy which compromises with imperialism-capitalism. 181/

These attacks and the attitudes of the current leaders make it unlikely that the two parties will resolve their differences for some time. Partai Murba is by far the weaker party and any merger would be an absorption of Murba by the PKI.

*The Linggadjati, Renville and Round Table Conference agreements were three agreements between the Netherlands and Indonesia to end hostilities and establish the Dutch-Indonesian Union.

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PKI CONSTITUTION

APPENDIX A

CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF INDONESIA (PKI)

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APPENDIX A

CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA (PKI) 182/

GENERAL PROGRAM

The Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) is the best organized front line and highest form of class organization of the Indonesian proletariat. The PKI represents the interests of the Indonesian nation and People. In its present stage, it fights for the establishment of a People's Democracy system in Indonesia, while its further aim is the realization of a Socialist society as the first step toward a Communist Society in Indonesia.

The entire work of PKI is based upon the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and the Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung and the Great Corrections of Musso. The PKI fights against every thought that is not critical, and opposes dogmatism and empiricism. Based on dialectical materialism and Marx's historical materialism, the PKI critically accepts the teachings of Indonesian history as well as foreign history and opposes the views of world idealism or mechanical materialism.

Since Indonesia is a semi-colony and semi-feudal; since the generating forces of the Indonesian Revolution are the laboring class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and other democratic elements which suffer under imperialism; since there is already a Communist Party in Indonesia, which has become increasingly stronger and more influential; and because of the present international conditions; all these determine that the Indonesian Revolution, in its present stage, is a new type bourgeois-democratic revolution or a bourgeois-democratic revolution in a period of imperialism and of world proletarian revolution. The Indonesian Revolution in its present stage is a People's Democracy revolution, that is, the revolution of the masses of the people, under the leadership of the proletariat, and is directed against imperialism, feudalism and the bourgeois comprador class. The Indonesian Revolution has many allies within the country and abroad. Therefore, the duties of the PKI at the present stage are: at home--to organize and unite labor, the peasantry, the intellectuals, small traders, national entrepreneurs, citizens of foreign descent, all national clans (tribes) and all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal elements; externally--to be united with the international proletariat, with all oppressed nations, subject nations, and nations, which consider us their equals, which love national freedom, democracy and world peace. All these are for the advancement of Indonesia from a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country to a free country, that is, democratic prosperous and progressive, to replace the government of feudal lords and compradors with a people's government, a People's Democracy government. A People's Democracy government is a government which bases itself on the masses, a united national front government that is formed on the basis of the alliance between labor and the peasantry under the leadership of the laboring class. In view of the backwardness of our country, this People's Democracy government will not be a dictatorship of the proletariat, but a dictatorship of the people. It will not carry out socialist changes, but will carry out democratic changes. A People's Democracy government is a government which is able to unite all anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces, and which is able to give lands at no cost to the peasantry, to guarantee demo-

cratic rights and freedom of religion to the people; it is a government, which is able to defend national industries and commerce against foreign competition, and able to raise the material living standard of labor and abolish unemployment. In short, a People's Democracy government is a People's government that is able to guarantee national freedom and development through democracy and progress.

Further, when the Indonesian Revolution which is characteristically national and democratic has already fully achieved its victory, PKI's duty will then be to take the necessary steps to realize the system of socialism as the first step towards a Communist order in Indonesia, in accordance with the needs of social and economic developments in Indonesia and in accordance with the wishes of the Indonesian People.

Semi-colonial and semi-feudal Indonesia is a vast group of islands with an unequally distributed large population, which consists of several clans with different stages of social progress. On one hand, the masses of Indonesian People, especially the laboring class and the peasantry, have a heroic revolutionary tradition; on the other, there are very great obstacles that hamper revolutionary progress. These factors determine the uneven developments of the Indonesian Revolution, cause the revolution to take a longer period of time and cause it to have strange characteristics.

The heroic struggle of the Indonesian People has been demonstrated in their resistance against Dutch rule in the Bantam War, Timor War, Tondano War, Diponegoro War, Ambon War, Buginese War, Bondjoi War, Palembang War, Bandjar War, Achin War, Batak War, Lombok War and others, the people's uprising of 1926, the "Seven Provinces" revolt, the resistance against Japanese fascism, among others in Blitar and Singaparna and the resistance against the Madiun provocation. The August 1945 Revolution and the fights against the Dutch colonial wars are the pinnacle of a heroic struggle which established a very extensive and intensive revolutionary tradition upon the entire People of Indonesia. But the August 1945 Revolution was a failure, primarily because the mass of the millions of peasants had not been awakened and drawn into the revolution, and also due to the betrayal by the comprador bourgeoisie. The laboring class at that time was not conscious enough of its role as leader of the revolution -- the Communist Party of Indonesia as a proletarian class party had already lost its freedom in the fields of politics, ideology and organization. The PKI at that time did not sufficiently understand the particular character of the Indonesian Revolution and did not sufficiently understand the facts of the united national front.

The work of the Party is now hard and unique. The problems that we directly and at once come face to face with are the the problem of fostering a united national front based on an alliance of labor and the peasantry and the problem of building up the Party. Therefore, work among laborers and peasants is the most important and basic form of activity of the Party. Party members must lead actions which directly concern the interest of the masses, continuously, untiringly and systematically give explanations to the public (laborers, peasants, soldiers, intellectuals, small businessmen, national entrepreneurs and other democratic groups) so that they can be separated from the comprador bourgeoisie and landlords, which are closely connected with the imperialist powers. The Party wounds resulting from past Party mistakes and from the Madiun provocation must be quickly healed, so that the Party may be able to

continue to keep its independence in the fields of politics, ideology and organization, order that it may realize the leading role of the labor class in the united national front, and to be able to strengthen the united national front in general. Keeping in mind the particular characteristics of the Indonesian Revolution, the PKI, in the long course of the revolution, must possess sufficient courage, toughness, experience and skill in the mobilization and organization of the millions of people, must be able to overcome all difficulties and obstacles and keep itself away from possible trouble so that it can advance towards its aims, and, at the same time, it must relentlessly steel its own ranks.

In the revolutionary struggle, the PKI must endeavor to become the hub of all revolutionary mass organizations. The PKI must also carry out a fight which knows no mercy against activities inside and outside the Party, that are aimed at destroying the revolution by dividing the unity of the working class and the alliance between the revolutionary classes.

For the growth of the Party and the strength of the Indonesian Revolution, the PKI must carry out a merciless fight inside and outside the Party against "leftist opportunism" and "rightist opportunism". A struggle that consumes a long period of time can generate the danger that the theoretically weak and characterless members may resort to politics of capitulation and adventurism. Experiences in the Indonesian Revolution show that the diseases of opportunism, capitulation and adventurism are dangerous enemies of the revolution. In order that it may stay stable and strong, the PKI must carry out a positive struggle that knows no mercy toward these dangerous elements, and those who do not want to correct their mistakes must be expelled from the Party.

The PKI may not conceal mistakes and shortcomings in its work. It must continuously check on its mistakes and shortcomings by the exercise of strict criticism and self-criticism, in which manner it can make timely corrections and can educate its members and cadres. The PKI opposes arrogance, self-righteousness toward mistakes and fear of criticism and self-criticism.

The Indonesian Communists must sacrifice all their energies and thoughts to serve the People. They must establish extensive contacts with the masses of labor and peasantry and all the other revolutionary people and devote continuous attention to strengthen and spread out these contacts. Every Party member must understand that the interests of the Party are the same as those of the People, and that responsibility to the Party is the same as responsibility to the People. Every Party member must pay the closest attention to the voice of the People, understand their urgent needs and help them organize themselves to fight for their needs. Every Party member must constantly be prepared to learn from the masses of the People, and at the same time be tirelessly and constantly prepared to educate the People in the revolutionary spirit to awaken and advance their consciousness. The PKI must be convinced that it is dangerous to be separated from the People. It must constantly watch, prevent and overcome the existence of tailism, commandoism, closed door politics, politics of isolationism, "Bapakism" (paternalism), individualism, liberalism, bureaucracy, intrigue, cliquism and militarism; all of which alienate the Party from the masses.

The PKI is organized on the basis of democratic centralism as a united and militant organization, steeled with discipline that is based on consciousness, which applies to all its members

The strength of the PKI lies in its strong solidarity, its unity of will and its unity of action. No action can be tolerated which deviates from the Constitution and the Program of the Party, the tampering with Party discipline, and allows for autonomyism, factionalism or hypocrisy. The PKI must constantly guarantee that any member who undermines the Party Constitution, the Party's Program and discipline is at once expelled from the Party.

The PKI hopes that every member works actively and is prepared to sacrifice militantly for the realization of the program and decisions of the Party to achieve freedom and prosperity for the Indonesian nation and People.

TRANSLATION OF THE AMENDED PKI CONSTITUTION OF 1954

Chapter I. Flag, Badge, Anthem and Oath of the Party

Article 1

The flag of the party is colored red, with a length to width ratio of 3:2, with a yellow hammer and sickle in the upper left sixth of the flag.

Article 2

The badge of the party will be as follows: The 5-pointed red star with the hammer and sickle in the center; the national Indonesian red and white flag on top; rice and cotton on the right and left; and the name PKI and the official abbreviation of the PKI fraction below.

Article 3

The anthem of the Party will be the Internationale.

Article 4

The oath of the Party will be as follows:

I declare my agreement with the program and Constitution of the Party, and hereby declare my readiness to become a full/or candidate member of the PKI. I swear to fulfill all my Party responsibilities, to guard the unity of the Party; to carry out the decisions of the Party to become an example to others in the struggle for our nation and people; to strengthen the relation between the Party and the masses; to strive to deepen my awareness of and to master the principles of Marx-Leninism; to be straightforward and honest towards the Party; to observe Party discipline and to keep watch on the Party's safety. This is my declaration and oath to the Communist Party of Indonesia, the Party that I look to with respect and love.

This oath is taken at the time an individual enters as a candidate for Party membership and at the time an individual is approved as a Party member.

Chapter II. Membership

Article 5

Anyone can become a member who is a citizen and has attained the age of 18, who agrees to the Program and Constitution of the Party, joins and actively participates in a Party organization, obeys Party decisions, pays initiation fees and Party dues, attends meetings and classes of the Party, and reads Party literature.

Article 6

The responsibilities of a party member are as follows:

a. Seek to lighten his consciousness and deepen his understanding of the principles of the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and the Ideas of Mao Tse-tung, with the Great Corrections of Musso;

b. Follow completely Party discipline, take an active part in internal Party political life and in the revolutionary movement in Indonesia; carry out completely the policies and decisions of the Party and oppose everything, both within and without the Party which endangers the interests of the Party; develop self-criticism and criticism from below; put forward shortcomings and raise them in meetings; oppose superfluous contentment and arrogance for obtaining results for workers;

c. Serve the masses of the people, consolidate and relationships between the Party and them, study and report at the appropriate time their wishes with respect to the Party, and explain Party policies to them;

d. Be a model in carrying out the discipline of revolutionary organizations; cooperate with the line and be an example in various fields of revolutionary endeavor.

Article 7

The rights of a Party member are as follows:

a. Take part in free discussions of questions of determining Party policies in Party meetings and in Party publications.

b. Vote and be elected within the Party.

c. Make proposals and give information to any Party organizations, including the Central Committee.

d. Criticize any Party worker in Party meetings.

Article 8

Party members are admitted only on an individual basis in accordance with the provision for membership as stipulated below.

a. Workers, farm workers, poor farmers, poor city dwellers or soldiers only can be accepted for membership upon the recommendation of two Party members, and after a decision of a general meeting of the Group and the Resort with validation by the CC and after a period of candidate of 6 months.

b. Middle class farmers, officials, intellectuals and independent workers (doctors, lawyers, etc.), can become Party members upon the recommendation of two Party members, one of whom must have been a member for more than 1 year continuously, after a decision of a general meeting of the Group and Resort which has been approved by the SC and after having been a candidate for 1 year.

c. A person belonging to any social circle other than those stipulated in "a" and "b" above can become a member of the Party only upon recommendation of two Party members, one of whom must have been a Party member for more than 3 years continuously, and after a general meeting of the GC and RC and approval of the section committee and after having been a candidate for 2 years.

d. Ordinary members of other political parties who have left those parties and desire to enter our Party, can become members only upon the recommendation of two members of the Party, one of whom has been a member for over years continuously, and after the decision of a general meeting of the GC and RC which has been approved by the section committee.

Members of other political parties who have been local (daerah) officials, but who have left their parties and desire to enter our Party, must be recommended by two members, one of whom has been a Party member for more than 5 years continuously. The nomination of such persons must be accepted in a general meeting of the GC and RC and approved by the Provcom.

Officials of other parties who have occupied high national positions but who have left their parties and desire to enter our Party, must be approved by the Central Committee. For all the above groups, a candidacy period of 2 years is required.

Article 9

Any Party member who nominates a candidate for Party membership must give the Party accurate information on the ideology, character, and biography of the candidate nominated and, before nomination, must give the candidate information on the constitution, program, and policies of the Party. Anyone who desires to enter the Party must submit a request containing the information stipulated by the Party.

Before a decision is made or approved concerning a request for membership, the responsible Party committee shall designate Party officials to exchange ideas with the candidate, so that investigation and understanding may be obtained in a careful manner.

Article 10

Under special conditions, the Secom and the Party Committees which are higher can directly accept new members.

Article 11

The purpose of the candidacy period is to give the candidate initial instructions regarding the Party and to enable the Party to give due consideration to the candidate's political quality. The responsibilities and rights of candidates are the same as those of members except that they do not have the right to vote for officers, to be elected, or to have a voice in asking decisions.

Article 12

After the completion of a candidacy period the request for membership shall be confirmed by a general meeting of the Group and Resort and approved by the Section Committee. It is also possible for the responsible Party committee to lengthen or shorten the period of candidacy, depending on whether the candidate has or has not fulfilled the provisions of Party membership.

The status of candidacy can be revoked if it becomes clear during the period of candidacy that the provisions for Party membership have not been fulfilled.

Article 13

The Party standing of a candidate member shall be calculated from the date of confirmation of request of a candidate to become a member of the Party.

Article 14

If a member or a candidate changes his place of residence, he must become a candidate or member of the Party organization in the new place of residence by presenting a letter of information from the Party committee of a former place of residence.

Article 15

Permission to terminate membership or candidacy must be submitted with reasons and officially to the head of the Group and by the head of the Group to the Recom which, at a meeting of the Resort, will delete the person's name from the Party register, and will report this to the next higher Party committee for recording.

Article 16

A member or candidate, who for a period of 6 months, who has not taken part in Party life, has undertaken no work for the Party or paid his dues without valid reason, shall automatically be considered to be outside the Party, and the decision to erase his name from the Party register will be made at the Group meeting and afterwards at the Resort meeting who will report it to the next higher Party committee for approval.

Article 17

The expulsion of a member or candidate must be discussed and decided upon in a Group meeting and afterwards at a Resort meeting at which the member in question is present and given an opportunity to defend himself; the decision can be carried out only after Secom approval. Under special conditions, the Party Committee above the Resort can take steps for dismissal of a member or candidate, but steps of this sort must be validated by agreement from the next higher Party Committee.

Dismissal from a Party Committee or expulsion of a Party member must be decided by a meeting of the Pleno of the Party committee concerned by a 2/3 majority of those entitled to vote.

Chapter III. Structural Organization of the Party

Article 18

The structural organization of the Party is based on the principle of democratic centralism, that is, centralism based on democracy and democracy under centralized leadership.

The bases of this are as follows:

- a. All leading Party bodies from the lowest to the highest must be elected.
- b. All leading Party bodies must at designated times report to the Party organization which elected them.
- c. Each Party member must obey the decisions of the Party organization which he belongs; the minority must obey the majority; the lower Party organizations must obey the higher, and all parts of the Party organization must obey the Central Committee.

Article 19

Organizations will be established on the basis of geographical divisions or branches of production: a Party organization serving a given area is higher than any Party organization serving part of that area; a Party organization serving a branch of production is higher than any Party organization serving part of that branch of production.

Article 20

The Party's organization is as follows:

- a. For all Indonesia there is a National Party Congress, a Central Committee, and a National Party Conference.
- b. For each Province there is Provincial Party, Provincial Party Conference and a Provcom.
- c. For the capital of the Republic of Indonesia (Greater Djakarta) there is a Greater Djakarta Party, Greater Djakarta Party Conference and a Committee for Greater Djakarta with a status equivalent to a Provcom.
- d. For regencies and large cities there is a Party Section, Party Section Conference and Secom.
- e. For subsections (ketjamatans) and small cities (Kota Ketjil) there are Party Subsection, Party Subsection Conferences, and Subsection Committees.
- f. For a factory, mine, village (desa, kelurahan), enterprise, office or school there shall be a Party Resort, a Resort Meeting and a Resort Committee, or a Party Great Resort, a Party Great Resort Conference, and a Great Resort Committee. The Resort is divisible into groups, which consist of, at the most, 7 (seven) persons who work and live close by.

Article 21

The highest authority of the Party Resort is the Resort meeting. The highest authority of the Great Resort Subsection, Section and Province is the conference of the respective group. The highest authority of the entire Party is the National Party Congress.

Between two meetings of the Resort Meeting, two Party Conferences and between the National Party Congress, the Party Committee elected by the group shall exercise the supreme authority over those Party organizations within each respective echelon.

Article 22

All leading groups of the Party must be elected:

- a. The Central Committee is elected by the National Party Conference.
- b. The Provcom, Secom and Subsecom are elected by the Party Conference of the respective area.
- c. The Recom is elected by the Resort Meeting, and the Great Recom is elected by the Great Resort Conference.

When conditions do not permit an election, the next higher leading Party group may appoint the leaders of the Party division concerned.

Article 23

The election of Party committees can be by written and secret ballot or by the open method of a list of candidates with the assurance that the electors have the right to criticize each candidate and make changes in the list.

Article 24

To transmit or discuss important decisions of higher Party organizations and to review or to plan its work each Party organization shall hold various meetings with cadres or active members.

Article 25

Every Party member is allowed to enter in discussion in the Party meetings, freely and without limit, and is allowed to express his ideas toward Party policies and with regard to various issues before decisions are made. But once a decision has been made this decision must be obeyed and carried out unequivocally.

Article 26

Groups of leaders of Party organizations of all echelons must carry out their work in accordance with the principle of internal Party democracy. Only thus will it be possible to stimulate the revolutionary initiative and the creative strength of the Party members, to strengthen Party discipline, which must be conscious and not mechanical; assure that there will be a real Party leadership; and consolidate Democratic centralism. However, in so doing, all Party leaders of all echelons must avoid all activities which could weaken the internal Party centralism; and they must not create a misunderstanding of internal Party democracy, which is in accord with the useful of centralized action by tending toward anarchism (acts of autonomy and ultra-democracy).

Article 27

To assure that internal Party democracy shall follow a line profitable to the Party struggle and not weaken the aim or solidarity of the struggle in extraordinary situations, so that such situations may not be used by possible saboteurs and anti-Party elements or factions to weaken or destroy the Party, and so that they may not be used by small groups seeking advantages for themselves in view of the still weak ideology of the majority of the Party, the following conditions must be complied with whenever there is intent to review or discuss, broadly and over a large area, the policies of the Party concerning national or local questions:

- a. The occasion shall be proper, that is, the objective situation shall be disadvantageous.
- b. Permission must be granted by the Central Committee of the Party or by the area committee.
- c. The question shall be examined by a majority of the lower organizations or by the next higher Party organizations.

Article 28

Party organizations of all levels must supervise the newspapers and periodicals under their authority to popularize the decisions and policies of the higher Party organizations and the publications of the Central Committee. Area publications must be approved by the Central Committee.

Article 29

Until the Central Committee has made explanations or given a decision neither the divisions, lower Party organizations, nor responsible individuals shall be allowed, arbitrarily, to make explanations or elucidate opinions on the questions of national scope, although individuals can discuss and present proposals to the Central Committee. On local questions, local Party organizations can make decisions provided they are not contrary to decisions of the higher Party organizations or the Central Committee.

Article 30

New established Party organizations must have the authorization of the responsible higher Party organization.

Article 31

In order that there may be a practical division of labor, the Party committees from the Subsecom through the Provcom shall create divisions while the Central Committee shall create departments, in accordance with conditions to arrange for all types of Party work. For example, there shall be divisions of organization, agit-prop, labor, farming, youth, women, representation, culture, etc. Also, Party committees shall form commissions as needed on publications, verification, and controls, etc. Each department or division shall be led by a division or department head, and one man may concurrently hold two or more positions according to the need and strength. The division of labor between the department or division must be discussed by the responsible Party committee. The responsibility of the department or division will be assigned by the secretariat of the Party committee concerned.

Chapter IV. Central Organization of the Party

Article 32

The National Party Congress shall be decided upon and convened by the Central Committee. Ordinarily it will be held once every four years. Under extraordinary conditions the time may be accelerated or postponed according to a decision of the Central Committee. If Party organizations representing more than half of the total Party membership request that a National Party Congress be held then the Central Committee must comply. A National Party Congress shall be considered legal only when attended by delegates representing more than half of all the Party members. The number of delegates for the National Party Congress and the method of selecting them must be determined by the Central Committee. Notification of the holding of the Congress must be made at least one month prior.

Article 33

Responsibilities and powers of the National Party Congress are as follows:

- a. to hear and accept, discuss and declare valid the reports made by the Central Committee and other central bodies.
- b. to review and amend the program and constitution of the Party.

c. to determine the basic orientation and policies of the Party.

d. to elect members of the Central Committee.

e. to elect candidates for membership in the Central Committee.

The highest power of the Party, in carrying out the work, policies and organization between National Party Congresses, is vested in the Central Committee.

Article 34

The number of members of the Central Committee shall be decided by the National Party Congress and members of the Central Committee must be elected by the National Party Congress. In case a vacancy occurs in the Central Committee, this vacancy shall be filled by the Central Committee from candidates for membership.

Article 35

The Central Committee shall represent the whole Party in relations with other political parties, shall set up party groups and direct their activities, and is responsible for determining the allotment of Party personnel and finances.

Article 36

A Pleno of the Central Committee shall be held at least every half year. However, the Politburo may extend or shorten this time depending on conditions. Candidates for membership on the Central Committee may attend the plenary meeting of the committee and may express their ideas but they do not have the right of decisive vote.

Article 37

The Central Committee in plenary session shall elect the Politburo, the secretary of the Central Committee and the secretary-general of the Party and two deputies. The Politburo is the central leading body of the Party and shall conduct all Party activities between two meetings of the Central Committee. The secretary of the Central Committee shall perform the daily work of that committee, in accordance with decisions of the Politburo. The secretary-general of the Party and his deputies concurrently are chairman and vice-chairmen of the Politburo and the secretariat of the Central Committee. In accordance with the requirements of its activities, the Central Committee will form departments, as for example, department of organization, agit-prop, labor, farming, youth, women, representation, science and culture, economy, etc. and will form other bodies for carrying out responsibility in various fields under the leadership and supervision of the Politburo: the secretariat of the Central Committee, the secretary-general of the Party, and his deputies.

Article 38

Between two national party congresses, the Central Committee shall convene various national party conferences to discuss and reach decisions on questions of Party policies and current situations.

Article 39

Delegates to the National Party Conference shall be elected by the Pleno of the Provcom. The number of delegates will be designated by the Central Committee. The National Party Conference must be attended by delegates representing more than half of the total of number of Provcoms.

Article 40

The National Party Conference has the right to remove any member or candidate for membership of the Central Committee who does not perform his duty; and it has the right to elect in an emergency election, a part of the candidates for membership provided the total number of members and candidates dismissed, or the total number of candidates elected at any one conference does not exceed one fifth the total of both members and candidates.

Article 41

Decisions made by a National Party Conference and the expulsion and election of members and candidates for membership of the Central Committee by a conference are effective only after validation by the Central Committee. All decisions of National Party Conferences which have been validated by the Central Committee must be followed by all Party organizations.

Chapter V. Organization of the Provinces, Sections
and Sub-sections of the Party

Article 42

The conferences of the provinces, sections and sub-sections of the Party will be convened by their committees respectively, six months for the province, four months for the section, every two months for the sub-section. Under extraordinary conditions the conference may be postponed or advanced according to the Party committee concerned. The Provcom, Secom and Subsecom must convene the province conference section or subsection conference upon the request of more than half of the member organizations of the Party beneath it or upon motion of the Party organization immediately above. Delegates to the conference of the province, subsection or section must be elected by the Pleno committees of units below.

Article 43

The province, section and subsection conferences shall hear and accept, discuss and declare valid the reports made by the Party committee and other Party groups of the Party committee concerned; shall discuss and make decisions on questions and activities of the area concerned. Province, section and subsection conferences will elect its Pleno committee. Pleno of the Provcom and the Pleno of the Secom are elected for two years and the Pleno of the Subsecom is elected for one year. The Provcom, in a meeting of the Pleno, will elect a daily council, secretary and deputies and members of the secretariat. The daily council of the Provcom will appoint division and select division heads. Secoms and Subsecoms in their respective Plenos will each select daily councils, secretaries and deputies. The daily council of the Secom and Subsecom will set up divisions and select division heads who will constitute the secretariat of the respective committee. The secretary and his deputies will concurrently be chairman, and vice-chairman of the daily council and secretariat of the respective committees. Daily

councils of the Provcom, Secom and Subsecom must be approved by the Party committee immediately above. Anyone elected secretary or deputy-secretary of a Provcom, Secom or Subsecom must be a Party member who has truly proven his readiness to work for the Party and is devoted to the people's struggle.

Article 44

The Provcom, Secom and Subsecom must carry out the decision of its Party Conference and the decisions of the Party organizations above it; must establish various Party organizations, must organize personnel and finance divisions and must direct the fractions in non-Party organizations within the area.

Article 45

The Provcom must hold a Plenary meeting every three months, Secom every two months, Subsecom every month.

Article 46

The decisions of the conference of the province, section or subsection are effective upon validation by the next higher Party organization.

Chapter VI. Basic Organization of the Party

Article 47

The basic organization of the Party is the Party Resort which is created according to place of residence or place of work. In a factory, mine, village, town, workshop, plantation, office or school three or more members of the Party may organize a Resort Party. If there are less than 3 members, the members must join a nearby Resort organization. Party Resorts must be validated by the Secom.

Article 48

In Party Resorts where there are many members they can organize Groups consisting at the most of seven people, according to knowledge, place of residence, or place of work. Each group will select a group chief and if necessary a deputy chief. If in one area of residence or place of work or school the number of candidates or members of the Party exceeds 100 then a Party Great Resort is formed. Below the Party Great Resort is the Subresort Party which is organized in the environs of a place of residence or a place of work or of a class of school. The Party Great Resort occupies the same position as the Resort within the Party.

Article 49

The Party Resort must endeavor to create close unity between the Party and the masses of people. Responsibilities of the Party Resort are as follows:

- a. Conduct propaganda and organization activities among the masses to clarify the ideas of the Party and the decisions of the higher Party organizations.
- b. Study the feelings and aims of the masses and report such immediately to higher Party organizations; study the economic, political and cultural lives of the people; and organize the masses to solve their problems themselves.

c. Recruit new members, collect party dues, supervise and examine the reports of Party members and see that Party discipline is maintained by members.

d. Educate Party members and organize instruction for them.

Article 50

The meeting of the members of the Resort can be divided into meetings of groups. For the Resort meeting there will be representatives duly elected by each group. Resort meetings will elect the Recom in order to carry the daily work. The Recom is elected for from six months to one year. The Great Recom is elected by the conference of the Great Recom which is represented by members of the Subrecom for a period of six months to one year. The number of members of the Recom shall be determined in accordance with the size of the Party Resort. A minimum of three, a maximum of seven members. The Recom shall elect a secretary and if necessary a deputy-secretary. The division of activities among the other members shall be according to need. The Party Resort with less than seven members should designate a secretary and a deputy-secretary but not form a Recom.

Chapter VII. Party Fractions in Non-Party Organizations

Article 51

A Party fraction shall be formed among leading groups of government office workers, leading groups of labor unions, farmers unions, cooperative leagues or other mass organizations in which there are three or more Party members holding important positions. The responsibility of a Party fraction is to lead Party members in leading groups of such organizations, to strengthen the influence of the Party and to carry out Party policies.

Party members will form Party fractions within all national and local representative bodies.

Article 52

A Party fraction shall have a secretary. Party fractions which have more than ten members shall form a working committee (pengurus se-hari-hari -- daily administration) to carry out daily activities. The secretary and other members of the working committee shall be elected in a general meeting of the fraction and this election must be validated by the Party Committee of the next higher organization.

Article 53

Party fractions in non-Party organizations are under the leadership of the next higher Party committee and shall carry out that committee's decisions. Party committees of all levels should invite responsible members of Party fractions to attend committee meetings.

Chapter VIII. Party Control Group--Investigation and Supervision

Article 54

The Central Committee shall form a Central Control commission (Komisi Kontrol Pusat) and other lower control commissions when necessary.

Article 55

The Central Control commission shall be organized by a Plenary session of the Central Committee. The control commission of lower Party echelons shall be formed by a Plenary session of the committee of the lower Party echelon with the approval of the next higher Party organization.

Article 56

The duties and powers of the Central Control commission and lower control commission are to apply or withdraw disciplinary measures against Party members and to conduct denunciations against Party members.

Article 57

The control commission of all levels shall carry on their work under the leadership of the corresponding Party committees.

Chapter IX. Party Funds

Article 58

The Party shall be financed by membership fees and dues, by productive activities, and by other economic activities undertaken by the Party and by assistance from non-Party individuals and groups.

Article 59

A person desiring to join the Party must pay a membership fee equivalent to membership dues. Membership dues shall be paid at the beginning of each month in amounts as established below:

<u>Gross Receipts</u> (rupiah)	<u>Total Dues</u> (rupiah)
0 to 150	0.50
151 to 250	1.00
251 to 350	2.00
351 to 450	3.00
451 to 550	4.00
551 to 650	5.00

From 651 rupiah upward, at least $1\frac{1}{2}$ percent of gross receipts, rounded off to the highest 0.50 rupiah. A member must pay his dues and all payments for the Party for which he is responsible to the member of the Party committee who is designated to receive them.

Article 60

A Party member who receives a position of profit in the name of the Party is responsible to turn over to the Party all profits therefrom, and he shall receive an honorarium according to arrangements established by the Party.

Article 61

The Provcom shall retain 90 percent of the receipts of fees, dues and support each month for the treasury needs of the Provcom, Secom, Subsecom, and Recom. The financial needs of the Secom, Subsecom and Recom will be decided by the Provcom. The remaining 10 percent is to be turned over to the Central Committee by the Provcom.

Chapter X. Honors and Discipline

Article 62

Each member or organization with the Party should receive honors for displaying unbounded readiness for serving at the interest of the Party and the people in practical deeds, for becoming an example of obedience to the discipline of the Party and other revolutionary organizations, for showing unusual initiative in carrying out Party policies and program, the decisions of higher Party organizations and the decisions of the Central Committee and for unusual results in carrying out Party duties and for getting Party assistance from the masses.

Article 63

Party organizations of all levels should take disciplinary measures against those who do not carry out the decisions of a higher Party organization or the Central Committee, or who violate the constitution or Party discipline, according to the actual circumstances.

a. Disciplinary measures which can be applied to a Party organization are: rebuke, partial reorganization of the body of leaders, dissolution of the body of leaders and designating another body of leaders pro tempore, or complete dissolution of the entire organization and a reassignment of its members.

b. Disciplinary steps which can be taken against a Party member are: personal reminder or rebuke at a general meeting of members, reassignment to other work, assignment to duty on a trial basis, or expulsion from Party.

Article 64

A Party organization or member who receives disciplinary action is to be informed of the reason for the action. A member or organization which considers that such disciplinary action is not just, can state his disagreement to the decision and may present a request that the question be reconsidered, or he can request justice from the next higher Party organization. The Party committee concerned must without fail present such requests. Refusing or suppressing such requests is forbidden.

Article 65

Expulsion from the Party is the supreme disciplinary measure within the Party. Every Party organization must exercise the greatest care in making or verifying such a decision, must listen carefully to the requests of members subject to disciplinary action and must thoroughly analyze the circumstances of the infractions.

Article 66

The positive aim of the Party in giving honor or in disciplinary action is to instruct the Party member and the masses and not for the purposes of stirring up personal vanity or of passing personal judgement. The honoring by the Party of a Party member who has given unusual service is for the purpose of establishing a criterion of work within the Party and for the purpose of establishing a general model for Party members. Criticism and disciplinary measures against Party members who have made errors are for the purpose of warning other members, assisting them in overcoming their weaknesses, and putting them at ease.

Chapter XI. Party Organization Under Extraordinary Circumstances

Article 67

Where the Party cannot be established and function in the unusual manner, the form of the organization and the method of conducting Party activities shall be determined by the Central Committee in accordance with the Party constitution. The form of organization and the method of activities as stipulated in the constitution, but which are not in accord with extraordinary circumstances, may be revised.

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PARTY UNITS BY
PROVINCES

APPENDIX B

PARTIAL LIST OF PROVCOMS, SECOMS AND SUBSECOMS
OF THE INDONESIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

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APPENDIX B
PARTIAL LIST OF PROVCOMS, SECOMS AND SUBSECOMS
OF THE INDONESIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

SC = Secom
SSC = Subsecom

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PROVCOM DJAWA TIMUR
(East Java Provincial Committee)
including responsibility for Madura and western Nusa Tenggara

East Java Proper

1. Banjuwangi SC
2. Blitar SC
3. Bodjonegoro SC
Kapas SSC
4. Bondowoso SC
Besuki SSC
5. Djember SC
 - a. Kalisat SSC
 - b. Tempuredjo SSC
 - c. Ambulu SSC
 - d. Wuluhan SSC
 - e. Balung SSC
 - f. Kentjong SSC
 - g. Umbulsari SSC
 - h. Sumberbaru SSC
 - i. Tanggul SSC
 - j. Djember Selatan SSC
6. Djember Kotabesar SC
7. Djombang SC
8. Kediri SC
 - a. Plosoklaten SSC
 - b. Wates SSC
 - c. Pare SSC
 - d. Plemahan SSC
9. Kediri Kotabesar SC
10. Lamongan SC
 - a. Duduksampejan SSC
 - b. Babat SSC
11. Lumadjang SC
 - a. Senduro SSC
 - b. Klapah SSC
 - c. Djokiroto SSC
 - d. Gutapalit SSC
 - e. Pasirian SSC
 - f. Tjandipuro SSC
 - g. Tempeh SSC

B-1

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12. Madiun SC
 - a. Dagengon SSC
 - b. Kebon Serih SSC
13. Madiun Kotabesar SC
14. Magetan SC
15. Malang SC
 - Pagak SSC
16. Malang Kotabesar SC
17. Modjokerto SC
 - Kedurus SSC
18. Ngandjuk SC
 - Porong SSC
19. Ngawi SC
20. Pasuruan SC
21. Patjitan SC
22. Ponorogo SC
23. Probolinggo SC
 - Kraksaan SSC
24. Sidoardjo SC
25. Situbondo SC (in Panarukan Regency)
26. Surabaja SC
 - a. Gresik SSC
 - b. Tjerme SSC
27. Surabaja Kotabesar SC
 - a. Wonokromo SSC
 - b. Kranggan SSC
 - c. Ketahang SSC
 - d. Krembangan SSC
 - e. Kapasan SSC
 - f. Wonosari SSC
 - g. Pandaan SSC
28. Trenggalek SC
29. Tuban SC
30. Tulungagung SC

Madura

31. Bangkalan SC
32. Pamekasan SC
33. Sampang SC
34. Sumenep SC

B-2

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Western Nusa Tenggara

- 35. Ampenan (Lombok) SC
- 36. Den Pasar (Bali) SC
 - a. Badung SSC
 - b. Tabanan SSC
 - c. Buleleng SSC
 - d. Djembrana SSC
 - e. Bangli SSC
 - f. Karangaum SSC
- 37. Sumbawa Besar SC
- 38. Singaradja SC
 - a. Giranjar SSC
 - b. Klungkung SSC

B-3

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PROVCOM DJAWA TENGAH
(Middle Java)

1. Ambarawa SC
 - a. Ambarawa SSC
 - b. Sumowono SSC
 - c. Ungaran SSC
 - d. Bandungan SSC
2. Bandjarnegara SC
3. Banjumas SC
 - Purwakerto SSC
4. Bantul SC
5. Blora SC
 - a. Blora Kota SSC
 - b. Djepon SSC
 - c. Kunduran SSC
 - d. Kupas-Padi SSC
 - e. Ngawen SSC
 - f. Randublatung SSC
6. Bojolali SC
 - a. Ngamplek SSC
 - b. Karanggede SSC
 - c. Sambli SSC
 - d. Tjepogo SSC
7. Brebes SC
8. Demak SC
 - a. Genuk/Karanganjar SSC
 - b. Dempet SSC
9. Djepara SC
 - Mlonggo SSC
10. Gunungkidul SC
 - a. Semanu SSC
 - b. Wonosari SSC
11. Jogjakarta SC
 - a. Kotagede SSC
 - b. Godean SSC
 - c. Pakem SSC
 - d. Tawan Siswa SSC
12. Karanganyar SC
13. Kebumen SC
14. Kendal SC
 - a. Kaliwungu SSC
 - b. Ngadiredjo SSC
 - c. Djumopolo SSC
 - d. Tretep SSC
 - e. Tjandiroto SSC

B-4

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15. Klaten SC
16. Kudus SC
17. Kulonprogo SC
 - a. Karang Sari SSC
 - b. Wates SSC
18. Magelang SC
 - Tegalredjo SSC
19. Pati SC
 - a. Sukolilo SSC
 - b. Taju SSC
20. Pekalongan SC
21. Pemalang SC
22. Purbolinggo SC
23. Purwodadi SC
24. Purworedjo SC
25. Rembang SC
26. Salatiga SC
27. Semarang SC
28. Semarang Kotabesar SC
29. Sleman SC
 - Sleman Timur SSC
30. Solo (Surakarta) SC
 - a. Bekonan SSC
 - b. Lawejan SSC
 - c. Metasih SSC
 - d. Tjolomadju SSC
31. Sragen SC
32. Sukohardjo SC
 - a. Kartosuro SSC
 - b. Tawang Sari SSC
33. Tegal SC
34. Temanggung SC
35. Tjepu SC
36. Tjilatjap SC
37. Wonogiri SC
38. Wonosobo SC

B-5

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PROVCOM DJAWA BARAT
(West Java)

1. Bandung SC
 - a. Karees SSC
 - b. Tegallega SSC
 - c. Bodjonaga SSC
 - d. Tjimahi SSC
 - e. Priangan SSC
 - f. Padalarang SSC
 - g. Undjungberung SSC
 - h. Tjisaruah SSC
2. Bandung Kotabesar SC
3. Bekasi SC
 - a. Tjikarang SSC
 - b. Depok SSC
4. Bogor SC
 - Tjibubur SSC
5. Garut SC
6. Indramaju SC
7. Krawang SC
8. Kuningan SC
9. Madjalengka SC
10. Pandeglang SC
 - Labuan SSC
11. Rangkasbitung SC
12. Serang SC
 - Banten SSC
13. Sukabumi SC
 - Boros SSC
14. Sumedang SC
 - a. Karumbi SSC
 - b. Balaradja SSC
15. Tangerang SC
 - a. Tjissalok SSC
 - b. Serpong SSC
16. Tasikmalaja SC
 - Indihiang SSC
17. Tjiamis SC
 - a. Warungdjasak SSC
 - b. Bandjar SSC
18. Tjiandjur SC
 - Patjet SSC

B-6

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19. Tjikampek SC (Purwakarta)
20. Tjirebon SC
 - a. West Cheribon SSC
 - b. Karangsembung SSC
21. Tjirebon Kotabesar SC

B-7

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PROVCOM DJAKARTA RAYA
(Greater Djakarta)

1. Gambir SC
 - a. Gambir SSC
 - b. Menteng SSC
2. Kampong Melaju SC
 - a. Bukit Duri SSC
 - b. Kampong Melaju SSC
 - c. Legok SSC
 - d. Matraman SSC
3. Kebajoran Baru SC
 - Kebajoran Baru SSC
4. Kebajoran Lama SC
 - a. Kebajoran Lama SSC
 - b. Pala-Petogogan SSC
5. Kebon Djeruk SC
 - a. Kampong Baru SSC
 - b. Kebon Djeruk SSC
6. Krukut SC
 - a. Angke Duri SSC
 - b. Krukut SSC
7. Mampang Prapatan SC
 - a. Mampang Prapatan SSC
 - b. Mampang Tegalarang SSC
 - c. Kuningan SSC
8. Mangga Dua SC
 - a. Kebajoran Djeruk SSC
 - b. Mangga Dua SSC
9. Matraman SC
 - a. Hutan Kayu SSC
 - b. Matraman Raya SSC
 - c. Pal-Merian/Djalan Solitude SSC
 - d. Pisangan SSC
 - e. Rawamangun SSC
 - f. Solitude SSC
 - g. Tjipinang SSC
10. Pasar Minggu SC
 - Pasar Minggu SSC
11. Pasar Rebo SC
 - a. Djatirawa Mangun SSC
 - b. Kampong Gaga SSC
 - c. Kampong Makassar SSC
 - d. Kawikawi SSC
 - e. Kramat Djati SSC
 - f. Pasar Rebo SSC
 - g. Tjipinang Melaju SSC

B-8

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12. Pendjaringan SC
 - a. Pedjagalan SSC
 - b. Pendjaringan SSC
 - c. Berok SSC
 - d. Bladongan-Klenteng SSC
13. Petamburan SC
 - a. Djati SSC
 - b. Palmerah SSC
 - c. Petodjo SSC
 - d. Slipi SSC
14. Pulo Gadung SC
 - a. Balli-Mester SSC
 - b. Djatinegara SSC
 - c. Klapa Dua Wetan SSC
 - d. Klender SSC
 - e. Pulo Gadung SSC
 - f. Tjawang SSC
 - g. Tjiratjas SSC
15. Pulo Seribu SC
16. Salemba SC
 - a. Kramat SSC
 - b. Rawasari SSC
 - c. Salemba SSC
 - d. Tanah Tinggi SSC
17. Sawah Besar SC
 - a. Kampong Bunder SSC
 - b. Kebajoran Klapa SSC
18. Senen SC
 - a. Kwitang Kebon Sajur SSC
 - b. Senen SSC
 - c. Sunter Baru SSC
19. Tanah Abang SC
 - a. Tanah Abang I SSC
 - b. Tanah Abang II SSC
 - c. Karet I SSC
 - d. Karet II SSC
20. Tandjung Priok SC
 - a. Djembatan Tinggi SSC
 - b. Semper SSC
 - c. Tandjung Priok SSC
 - d. Tjilintjing SSC
 - e. Sumter SSC
21. Tjengkareng SC

B-9

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PROVCOM SUMATERA UTARA
(North Sumatra)

1. Asahan SC
 - a. Aek Loba SSC
 - b. Aek Manopan SSC
 - c. Pulau Mandi SSC
 - d. Kisaran SSC
 - e. Tandjung Balai SSC
 - f. Simpang Kawat SSC
 - g. Negeri Lama SSC
 - h. Labuhan Bilik SSC
 - i. Kwala Ledang SSC
 - j. Air Batu SSC
2. Belawan SC
3. Dairi SC
4. Deli Serdang SC
 - a. Tandjung Morawa
 - b. Tambong SSC
 - c. Pertjut SSC
 - d. Deli Tua SSC
 - e. Labuhan Deli SSC
 - f. Lubuk Pakam SSC
 - g. Perbaungan SSC
 - h. Galang SSC
 - i. Serberlawan SSC
 - j. Tebingtinggi SSC
 - k. Dolok Masihul SSC
5. Kota Radja SC (Atjeh Besar)
Matang Glumpang II SSC
6. Labuahan Batu SC
 - a. Marbau SSC
 - b. Rantau Prapat SSC
 - c. Kota Pinang SSC
7. Langkat SC
 - a. Bindjei SSC
 - b. Kwala SSC
 - c. Besitang SSC
 - d. Pangkalan Brandan SSC
 - e. Pangkalan Susu SSC
 - f. Tandjung Pura SSC
8. Langsa SC
Kuala Simpang SSC
9. Lho Seumawe SC
 - a. Idi SSC
 - b. Lho Sukon SSC
 - c. Bireun SSC
 - d. Simpang Olim SSC
10. Medan Kota Besar SC
11. Meulaboh SC

B-10

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12. Nias SC (In Gunung Sitoli)
13. Pandang Bedagai SC
14. Pandang Sidempuan SC
 - a. Batang Toru SSC
 - b. Samkas Aek Habil SSC
15. Sigli SC
 - a. Meurendu SSC
 - b. Samalanga SSC
16. Simalungan SC
 - a. Siantar SSC
 - b. Nagaradja SSC
 - c. Serang Padang SSC
 - d. Tiga Belata SSC
 - e. Tiga Dolok SSC
 - f. Kampong Pon SSC
 - g. Pematang Bandar SSC
 - h. Merek Raja SSC
 - i. Kampong Beringin SSC
 - j. Nagodjor SSC
 - k. Tanah Djawa SSC
 - l. Pane Tonga SSC
 - m. Perdagangan SSC
17. Simpang Gambir SC
 - Sibolga SSC
18. Takengon SC
19. Tanah Karo (Karoland)SC
 - a. Pajung SSC
 - b. Brastagi SSC
 - c. Pantju Batu SSC
 - d. Kota Tjane SSC
 - e. Tiga Nderket SSC
 - f. Tiga Binaga SSC
 - g. Kabandjahl SSC
 - h. Kutabuluh SSC
 - i. Seribu Dolok SSC
20. Tapaktuan SC
 - a. Sidikalang SSC
 - b. Singkil SSC
 - c. Alas SSC
21. Tarutung SC (Tapanuli Utara)

B-11

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PROVCOM SUMATERA TENGAH
(Central Sumatra)

1. Agam SC (in Bukittinggi)
Agam SSC
2. Bukittinggi SC
3. Djarabi SC (Batanghari Regency)
4. Indragiri SC
5. Kampar/Bengkalis SC
 - a. Pakanbaru SSC
 - b. Siak Hulu SSC
6. Maringin SC
7. Padang SC
8. Padang Pandjang SC
9. Pajakumbuh SC (Limapuluh Kota Regency)
Limapuluh SSC
10. Rengat SC
11. Riau SC
Bagan Siapiapi SSC
12. Sawah Lunto SC
Kumanis SSC
13. Solok SC
14. Sungai Penuh SC (Pasisir Selantan-Kerintji Regency)
Kerintji-Indrapura SSC
15. Talu/Pasaman SC
16. Tanah Datar SC

B-12

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PROVCOM SUMATERA SELATAN
(South Sumatra)

1. Bangka SC
2. Batu Radja SC (in Ogan dan Komering Ulu Regency)
3. Belitung SC
4. Bengkulu SC (Bengkulu Utara Regency)
Kepahjang SSC
5. Kajang Agung SC (in Ogan dan Komering Ilir Regency)
Sirah Pulau SSC
6. Lahat SC
7. Lampung SC (in Lampung Utara Regency)
8. Lampung Selatan SC
Teluk Piandang SSC
9. Lampung Tengah SC (in Metro)
10. Lubuk Linggau SC (in Musi Rawas Regency)
11. Muara Enim SC
 - a. Pandan Enim SSC
 - b. Matas SSC
12. Palembang SC
13. Redjang Lebong SC
 - a. Redjang Lebong SSC
 - b. Tjurup SSC
 - c. Lebong Utara SSC

B-13

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PROVCOM KALIMANTAN TIMUR
(East Borneo)

1. Balikpapan SC
Tarakan SSC
2. Samarinda SC

PROVCOM KALIMANTAN SELATAN
(South Borneo)

1. Bandjermasin SC
 - a. Kuala Kapuas SSC
 - b. Sampit SSC
2. Barito Timur SC
3. Special Section for the Borneo Interior

PROVCOM KALIMANTAN BARAT
(West Borneo)

1. Pontianak SC
Siantan SSC
2. Singkawang SC
3. Sambas SC

B-14

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PROVCOM SULAWESI/MALUKU
(Celebes and Moluccas)

including responsibility for eastern Nusa Tenggara

Sulawesi

1. Gorontalo SC
2. Makassar SC
Amurang SSC
3. Mangondow SC
Inandi SSC
4. Menado SC
 - a. Sonder SSC
 - b. Tondano SSC
5. Minahasa SC
Tomohon SSC
6. Palopo SC (Luwu Regency in Celebes)
7. Pare-Pare SC
8. Poso SC
9. Toradja (Special Committee)

Maluku

10. Maluku Selatan SC
11. Maluku Utara SC (in Ternate, Halmahera)
12. Maluku Tengah SC (in Amboina, Ambon)

Irian

13. Special Section for Irian

Eastern Nusu Tenggara

14. Ende SC (Flores Island)
15. Kupang SC (Indonesian Timor)

B-15

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APPENDIX C

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF PKI UNITS

(Given by provinces in Appendix B)

ALPHABETICAL LIST
OF PARTY UNITS

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7

APPENDIX C

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF PKI UNITS

(Given by provinces in Appendix B)

Aek Kanopan SSC -- North Sumatra
Aek Loba SSC -- North Sumatra
Agam SC -- Central Sumatra
Agam SSC -- Central Sumatra
Air Batu SSC -- North Sumatra
Alas SSC -- North Sumatra
Ambarawa SSC -- Middle Java
Ambarawa SC -- Middle Java
Ambulu SSC -- East Java
Ampenan (Lombok) SC -- East Java
Amurang SSC -- Celebes and Moluccas
Angke Duri SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Asahan SC -- North Sumatra

Babat SSC -- East Java
Badung SSC -- East Java
Bagan Siapiapi SSC -- Central Sumatra
Balaradja SSC -- West Java
Balikpapan SC -- East Borneo
Bali-Mester SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Balung SSC -- East Java
Bandjar SSC -- West Java
Bandjarnegara SC -- Middle Java
Bandjermasin SC -- South Borneo
Bandung SC -- West Java
Bandung Kotabesar SC -- West Java
Bandungan SSC -- Middle Java
Bangka SC -- South Sumatra
Bangkalan SC -- East Java
Bangli SSC -- East Java
Banjumas SC -- Middle Java
Banjuwangi SC -- East Java
Banten SSC -- West Java
Bantul SC -- Middle Java
Barito Timur SC -- South Borneo
Batang Toru SSC -- North Sumatra
Batu Radja SC -- South Sumatra
Bekasi SC -- West Java
Bekonan SSC -- Middle Java
Belawan SC -- North Sumatra
Belitung SC -- South Sumatra
Bengkulu SC -- South Sumatra
Berok SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Besitang SSC -- North Sumatra
Besuki SSC -- East Java
Bindjei SSC -- North Sumatra
Bireun SSC -- North Sumatra
Blandongen-Klenteng SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Blitar SC -- East Java
Blora SC -- Middle Java
Blora Kota SSC -- Middle Java
Bodjonaga SSC -- West Java
Bodjonegoro SC -- East Java
Bogor SC -- West Java

C-1

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Bojolali SC -- Middle Java
Bondowoso SC -- East Java
Borneo Interior, Special Section -- South Borneo
Boros SSC -- West Java
Brastagi SSC -- North Sumatra
Brebes SC -- Middle Java
Bukit Duri SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Bukittinggi SC -- Central Sumatra
Bulelang SSC -- East Java

Dagengon SSC -- East Java
Dairi SC -- North Sumatra
Deli Serdang SC -- North Sumatra
Deli Tua SSC -- North Sumatra
Demak SC -- Middle Java
Dempet SSC -- Middle Java
Den Fasar (Bali) SC -- East Java
Depok SSC -- West Java
Djambi SC -- Central Sumatra
Djati SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Djatinegara SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Djatirawa Mangun SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Djembatan Tinggi SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Djember SC -- East Java
Djember Kotabesar SC -- East Java
Djember Selatan SSC -- East Java
Djembrana SSC -- East Java
Djepara SC -- Middle Java
Djepon SSC -- Middle Java
Djokiroto SSC -- East Java
Djombong SC -- East Java
Djumopolo SSC -- Central Java
Dolok Masihul SSC -- North Sumatra
Dudksampejan SSC -- East Java

Ende (Flores) SC -- Celebes and Moluccas

Galang SSC -- North Sumatra
Gambir SC -- Greater Djakarta
Gambir SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Garut SC -- West Java
Genuk/Karanganjar SSC -- Central Java
Giranjari SSC -- East Java
Godean SSC -- Middle Java
Gorontalo SC -- Celebes and Moluccas
Gresik (Grissee) SSC -- East Java
Gunungkidul SC -- Middle Java
Gutapalit SSC -- East Java

Hutan Kayu SSC -- Greater Djakarta

Idi SSC -- North Sumatra
Inandi SSC -- Celebes and Moluccas
Indihiang SSC -- West Java
Indragiri SC -- Central Sumatra
Indramaju SC -- West Java
Irian, Special Section -- Celebes and Moluccas

Jogjakarta SC -- Middle Java

C-2

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Kabandjahl SSC -- North Sumatra
Kaju Agung SC -- South Sumatra
Kalisat SSC -- East Java
Kaliwungu SC -- Middle Java
Kampar/Bengkalis SC -- Central Sumatra
Kampung Baru SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Kampung Beringin SSC -- North Sumatra
Kampung Bunder SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Kampung Gaga SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Kampung Makasar SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Kampung Melaju SC -- Greater Djakarta
Kampung Melaju SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Kampung Pon SSC -- North Sumatra
Kapas SSC -- East Java
Kapasas SSC -- East Java
Karagsari SSC -- Middle Java
Karanganjar SC -- Middle Java
Karangasem SSC -- East Java
Karanggede SSC -- Middle Java
Karangsembung SSC -- West Java
Karees SSC -- West Java
Karet I SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Karet II SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Kartosuro SSC -- Middle Java
Karumbi SSC -- West Java
Kawikawi SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Kebajoran Baru SC -- Greater Djakarta
Kebajoran Baru SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Kebajoran Djeruk SC -- Greater Djakarta
Kebajoran Klapa SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Kebajoran Lama SC -- Greater Djakarta
Kebajoran Lama SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Kebon Djeruk SC -- Greater Djakarta
Kebon Serih SSC -- East Java
Kebumen SC -- Middle Java
Kediri SC -- East Java
Kediri Kotabesar SC -- East Java
Kedurus SSC -- East Java
Kendal SC -- Middle Java
Kentjong SSC -- East Java
Kepahjang SSC -- South Sumatra
Kerintji-Indrapura SSC -- Central Sumatra
Ketahang SSC -- East Java
Kisaran SSC -- North Sumatra
Klapah SSC -- East Java
Klapa Dua Wetan SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Klaten SC -- Middle Java
Klender SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Klungkung SSC -- East Java
Kotagede SSC -- Middle Java
Kota Pinang SSC -- North Sumatra
Kota Radja SC -- North Sumatra
Kota Tjane SSC -- North Sumatra
Kraksaan SSC -- East Java
Kramat SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Kramat Djati SSC -- Greater Djakarta
Kranggan SSC -- East Java
Krawang SC -- West Java
Krembangan SSC -- East Java
Krukut SC -- Greater Djakarta
Krukut SSC -- Greater Djakarta

C-3

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Kuala Simpang SSC -- North Sumatra
 Kuala Kapuas SSC -- South Borneo
 Kudus SC -- Middle Java
 Kulonprogo SC -- Middle Java
 Kumanis SSC -- Central Sumatra
 Kunduran SSC -- Middle Java
 Kuningan SC -- West Java
 Kuningan SSC -- Greater Jakarta
 Kupang (Timor) SC -- Celebes and Moluccas
 Kupas-Padi SSC -- Middle Java
 Kutabuluh SSC -- North Sumatra
 Kwala SSC -- North Sumatra
 Kwala Ledang SSC -- North Sumatra
 Kwitang Kebon Sajur SSC -- Greater Jakarta

Labuan SSC -- West Java
 Labuhan Bilik SSC -- North Sumatra
 Labuhan Batu SC -- North Sumatra
 Labuhan Deli SSC -- North Sumatra
 Lahat SC -- South Sumatra
 Lamongan SC -- East Java
 Lampung SC -- South Sumatra
 Lampung Selatan SC -- South Sumatra
 Lampung Tengah SC -- South Sumatra
 Langkat SC -- North Sumatra
 Langsa SC -- North Sumatra
 Lawejan SSC -- Middle Java
 Lebong Utara SSC -- South Sumatra
 Legok SSC -- Greater Jakarta
 Lho Seumawe SC -- North Sumatra
 Lho Sukon SSC -- North Sumatra
 Limapuluh SSC -- Central Sumatra
 Lubuk Linggau SC -- South Sumatra
 Lubuk Dakam SSC -- North Sumatra
 Lumajang SC -- East Java

Madiun Kotabesar SC -- East Java
 Madiun SC -- East Java
 Madjalengka SC -- West Java
 Magelang SC -- Middle Java
 Magetan SC -- East Java
 Makassar SC -- Celebes and Moluccas
 Malang Kotabesar SC -- East Java
 Malang SC -- East Java
 Maluku Selatan SC -- Celebes and Moluccas
 Maluku Tengah SC -- Celebes and Moluccas
 Maluku Utara SC -- Celebes and Moluccas
 Mampang Prapatan SC -- Greater Jakarta
 Mampang Prapatan SSC -- Greater Jakarta
 Mampang Tegalarang SSC -- Greater Jakarta
 Mangga Dua SC -- Greater Jakarta
 Mangga Dua SSC -- Greater Jakarta
 Mangondow SC -- Celebes and Moluccas
 Marbau SSC -- North Sumatra
 Maringin SC -- Central Sumatra
 Matang Glumpang II SSC -- North Sumatra
 Matas SSC -- South Sumatra
 Matraman SC -- Greater Jakarta
 Matraman SSC -- Greater Jakarta
 Matraman Raya SSC -- Greater Jakarta
 Medan Kota Besar SC -- North Sumatra
 Menado SC -- Celebes and Moluccas

C-4

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Menteng SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Merek Raja SSC -- North Sumatra
 Metahsih SSC -- Middle Java
 Meulaboh SC -- North Sumatra
 Meurendu SSC -- North Sumatra
 Minahasa SC -- Celebes and Moluccas
 Mlonggo SSC -- Middle Java
 Modjokerto SC -- East Java
 Muara Enim SC -- South Sumatra

Nagaradja SSC -- North Sumatra
 Nagodjor SSC -- North Sumatra
 Negeri Lama SSC -- North Sumatra
 Ngadiredjo SSC -- Central Java
 Ngamplek SSC -- Middle Java
 Ngandjuk SC -- East Java
 Ngawen SSC -- Middle Java
 Ngawi SC -- East Java
 Nias SC -- North Sumatra

Padalarang SSC -- West Java
 Padang SC -- Central Sumatra
 Pandang Bedagai SC -- North Sumatra
 Padang Pandjang SC -- Central Sumatra
 Padang Sidempuan SC -- North Sumatra
 Pagak SSC -- East Java
 Pajakumbuh SC -- Central Sumatra
 Panjung SSC -- North Sumatra
 Pakanbaru SSC -- Central Sumatra
 Pakem SSC -- Middle Java
 Pala-Petogogan SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Palembang SC -- South Sumatra
 Palmerah SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Pal-Meriam/Djalan Solitude SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Palopo SC -- Celebes and Moluccas
 Pamekasan SC -- East Java
 Pandaan SSC -- East Java
 Pandan Enim SSC -- South Sumatra
 Pandegland SC -- West Java
 Pane Tonga SSC -- North Sumatra
 Pangkalan Brandan SSC -- North Sumatra
 Pangkalan Susu SSC -- North Sumatra
 Pantju Batu SSC -- North Sumatra
 Pare SSC -- East Java
 Pare-Pare SC -- Celebes and Moluccas
 Pasar Minggu SC -- Greater Djakarta
 Pasar Minggu SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Pasar Rebo SC -- Greater Djakarta
 Pasar Rebo SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Pasirian SSC -- East Java
 Pasuruan SC -- East Java
 Pati SC -- Middle Java
 Patjet SC -- West Java
 Patjitan SC -- East Java
 Pedjagalan SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Pekalongan SC -- Middle Java
 Pemalang SC -- Middle Java
 Pematang Bandar SSC -- North Sumatra
 Pendjaringan SC -- Greater Djakarta
 Pendjaringan SSC -- Greater Djakarta

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Perbaungan SSC -- North Sumatra
 Perdagangan SSC -- North Sumatra
 Pertjut SSC -- North Sumatra
 Petamburan SC -- Greater Djakarta
 Petodjo SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Pisangan SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Plemahan SSC -- East Java
 Plosoklaten SSC -- East Java
 Ponorogo SC -- East Java
 Pontianak SC -- West Borneo
 Porong SSC -- East Java
 Poso SC -- Celebes and Moluccas
 Priangan SSC -- West Java
 Probolinggo SC -- East Java
 Pulau Mandi SSC -- North Sumatra
 Pulo Gandung SC -- Greater Djakarta
 Pulo Gandung SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Pulo Seribu SC -- Greater Djakarta
 Purbolinggo SC -- Middle Java
 Purwakerto SSC -- Middle Java
 Purwodadi SC -- Middle Java
 Purworedjo SC -- Middle Java

Randublatung SSC -- Middle Java
 Rangkasbitung SC -- West Java
 Rantau Prapat SSC -- North Sumatra
 Rawamangun SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Rawasari SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Redjang Lebong SC -- South Sumatra
 Redjang Lebong SSC -- South Sumatra
 Rembang SC -- Middle Java
 Rengat SSC -- Central Sumatra
 Riau SC -- Central Sumatra

Salatiga SC -- Middle Java
 Salemba SC -- Greater Djakarta
 Salemba SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Samalanga SSC -- North Sumatra
 Samarinda SC -- East Borneo
 Sambas SC -- West Borneo
 Sambu SSC -- Middle Java
 Samkas Aek Habil SSC -- North Sumatra
 Sampang SC -- East Java
 Sampit SSC -- Borneo
 Sawah Besar SC -- Greater Djakarta
 Sawah Lunto SC -- Central Sumatra
 Semarang SC -- Middle Java
 Semarang Kotabesar SC -- Middle Java
 Semanu SSC -- Middle Java
 Semper SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Senduro SSC -- East Java
 Senen SC -- Greater Djakarta
 Senen SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Serang SC -- West Java
 Serang Padang SSC -- West Java
 Serberlawan SSC -- North Sumatra
 Seribu Dclok SSC -- North Sumatra
 Serpong SSC -- West Java
 Siak Hulu SSC -- Central Sumatra
 Siantan SSC -- West Borneo
 Siantar SSC -- North Sumatra

C-6

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Sibolga SSC -- North Sumatra
 Sidikalang SSC -- North Sumatra
 Sidoardjo SC -- East Java
 Sigli SC -- North Sumatra
 Simalungan SSC -- North Sumatra
 Simpang Gambir SC -- North Sumatra
 Simpang Kawat SSC -- North Sumatra
 Simpang Olim SSC -- North Sumatra
 Singaradja SC -- East Java
 Singkawang SC -- West Borneo
 Singkil SSC -- North Sumatra
 Sirah Pulau SSC -- South Sumatra
 Situbondo SC -- East Java
 Sleman SC -- Middle Java
 Sleman Timur SSC -- Middle Java
 Slipi SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Solitude SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Solo (Surakarta) SC -- Middle Java
 Solok SC -- Central Sumatra
 Sonder SSC -- Celebes and Moluccas
 Sragen SC -- Middle Java
 Sukabumi SC -- West Java
 Sukohardjo SC -- Middle Java
 Sukolilo SSC -- Middle Java
 Sumbawa Besar SC -- East Java
 Sumberbaru SSC -- East Java
 Sumedang SC -- West Java
 Sumenep SC -- East Java
 Sumowono SC -- Middle Java
 Sungei Penuh SC -- Central Sumatra
 Sunter SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Sunter Baru SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Surabaya SC -- East Java
 Surabaya Kotabesar SC -- East Java

Tabanan SSC -- East Java
 Taju SSC -- Middle Java
 Takengon SC -- North Sumatra
 Talu/Pasaman SC -- Central Sumatra
 Tambong SSC -- North Sumatra
 Tanah Abang SC -- Greater Djakarta
 Tanah Abang I SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Tanah Abang II SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Tanah Datar SC -- Central Sumatra
 Tanah Djawa SSC -- North Sumatra
 Tanah Karo SC -- North Sumatra
 Tanah Tinggi SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Tandjung Balai SSC -- North Sumatra
 Tandjung Priok SC -- Greater Djakarta
 Tandjung Priok SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Tandjung Morawa SSC -- North Sumatra
 Tandjung Pura SSC -- North Sumatra
 Tangerang SC -- West Java
 Tanggul SSC -- East Java
 Tapaktuan SC -- North Sumatra
 Tarakan SSC -- East Borneo
 Tarutung SC -- North Sumatra
 Tasikmalaja SC -- West Java
 Tawangsari SSC -- Middle Java
 Tawan Siswa SSC -- Middle Java
 Tebingtinggi SSC -- North Sumatra

C-7

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Tegal SC -- Middle Java
 Tegallega SSC -- West Java
 Tegalredjc SSC -- Middle Java
 Teluk Piandang SSC -- South Sumatra
 Temanggung SC -- Middle Java
 Tempeh SSC -- East Java
 Tempuredjc SSC -- East Java
 Tiga Belata SSC -- North Sumatra
 Tiga Binaga SSC -- North Sumatra
 Tiga Dolok SSC -- North Sumatra
 Tiga Nderket SSC -- North Sumatra
 Tjandipurc SSC -- East Java
 Tjandirotc SSC -- Central Java
 Tjawang SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Tjengkareng SC -- Greater Djakarta
 Tjepogo SSC -- Middle Java
 Tjepu SC -- Middle Java
 Tjerme SSC -- East Java
 Tjiamis SC -- West Java
 Tjiandjur SC -- West Java
 Tjibubur SSC -- West Java
 Tjikampek SC -- West Java
 Tjikarang SSC -- West Java
 Tjilatjap SC -- Middle Java
 Tjilintjing SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Tjimahi SSC -- West Java
 Tjipinang SC -- Greater Djakarta
 Tjipinang Melaju SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Tjiratjas SSC -- Greater Djakarta
 Tjirebon SC -- West Java
 Tjirebon Kotabesar SC -- West Java
 Tjisalok SSC -- West Java
 Tjisaruah SSC -- West Java
 Tjolomadju SSC -- East Java
 Tjurup SSC -- South Sumatra
 Tomohon SSC -- Celebes and Moluccas
 Tondano SSC -- Celebes and Moluccas
 Toradja, Special Committee -- Celebes and Moluccas
 Trenggaleh SC -- East Java
 Tretep SSC -- Central Java
 Tuban SC -- East Java
 Tulungagung SC -- East Java

Umbulsari SSC -- East Java
 Undjungberung SSC -- West Java
 Ungaran SSC -- Middle Java

Warungdjasak SSC -- West Java
 Wates SSC -- Middle Java
 Wates SSC -- East Java
 West Cheribon SSC -- West Java
 Wonogiri SC -- Middle Java
 Wonokromo SSC -- East Java
 Wonosari SSC -- East Java
 Wonosari SSC -- Middle Java
 Wonosobo SC -- Middle Java
 Wuluhan SSC -- East Java

C-8

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APPENDIX D

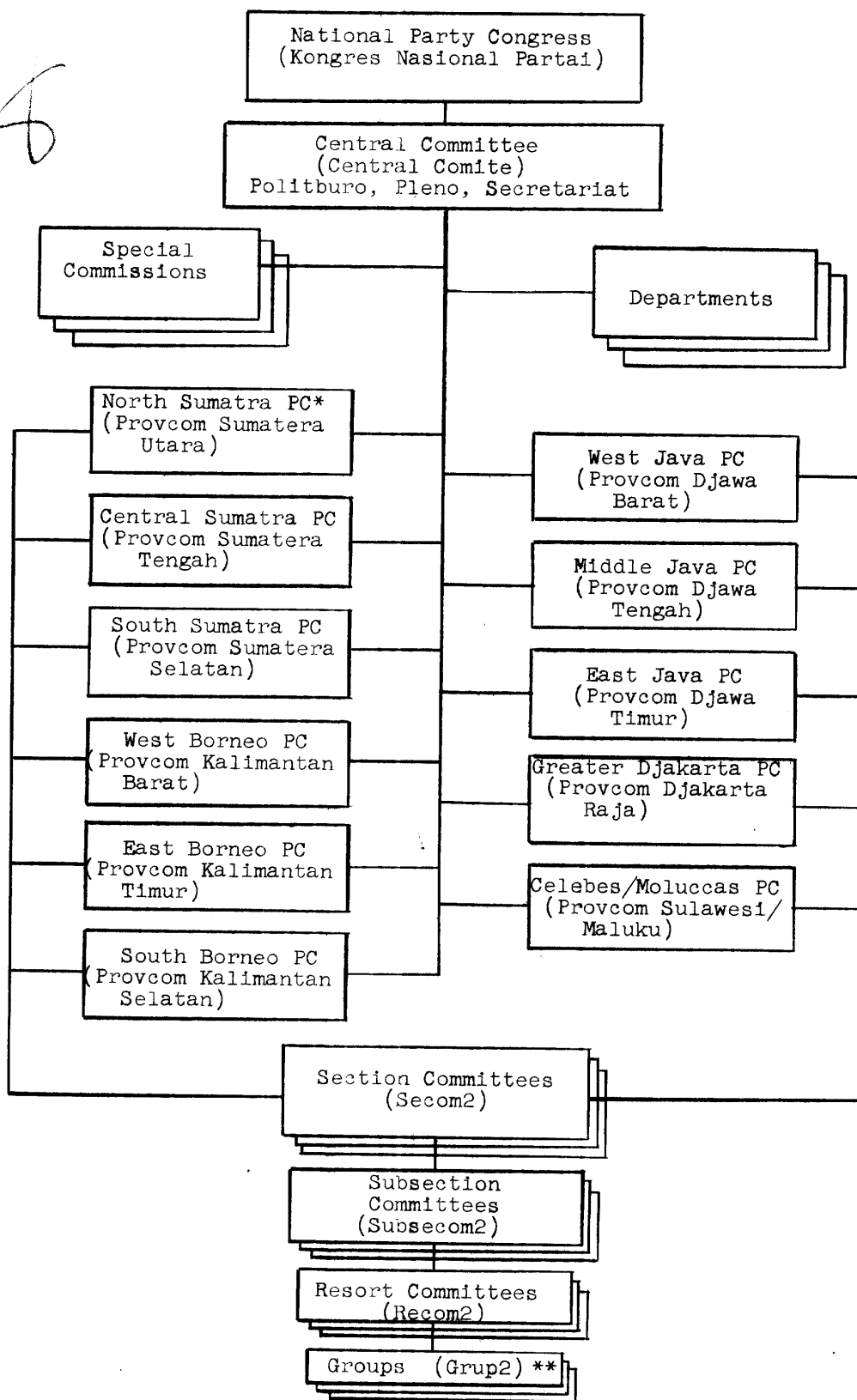
CHARTS: ORGANIZATION OF THE PKI

1. The Communist Party
of Indonesia
2. Central PKI Units
3. A PKI Subnational Unit
4. PKI-Front Relationship
(North Sumatra, October
1953)

ORGANIZATION CHARTS

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1. ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA (PKI)
MAY 1955



* Provincial Committee

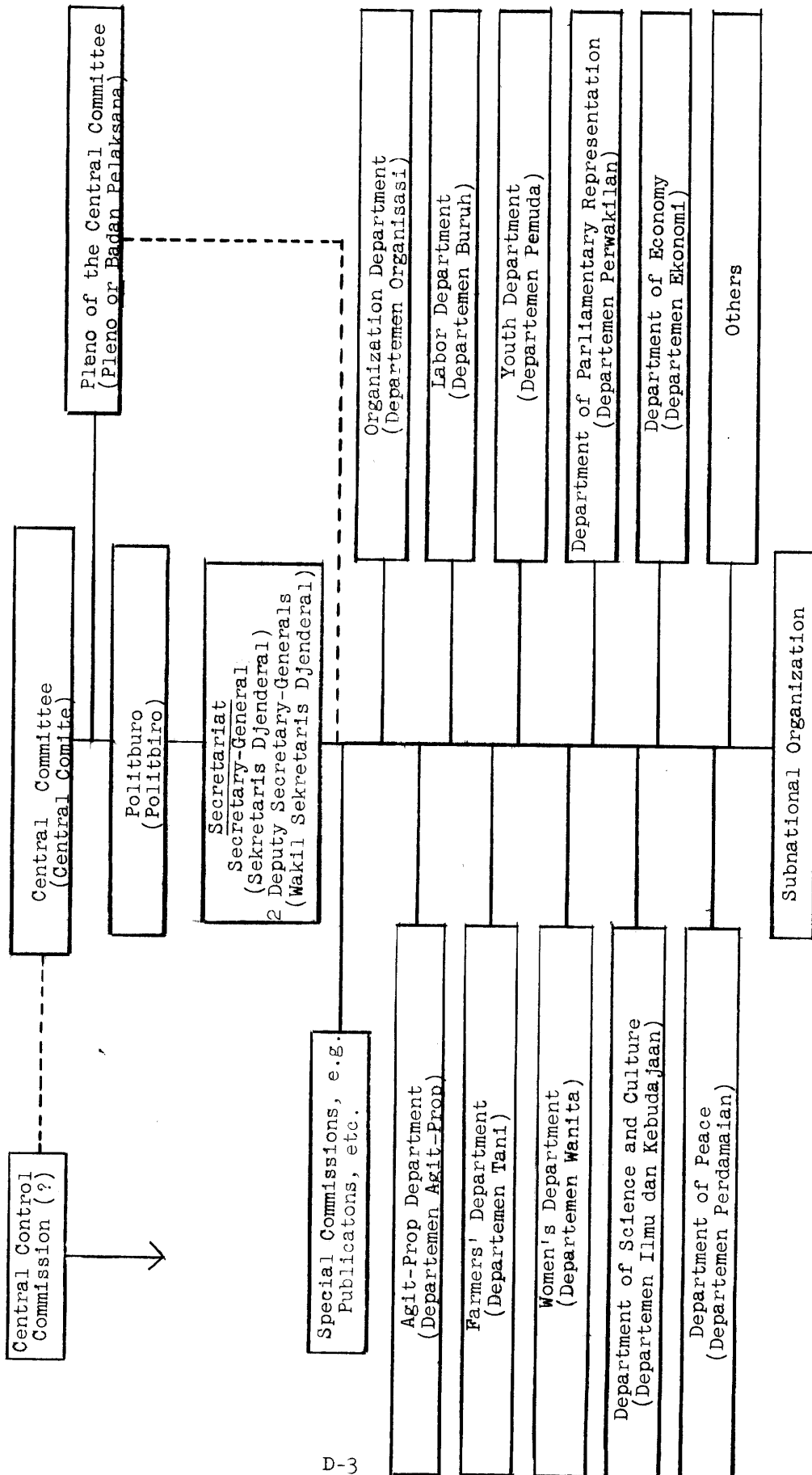
D-1

**Not required

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2. CENTRAL PKI UNITS

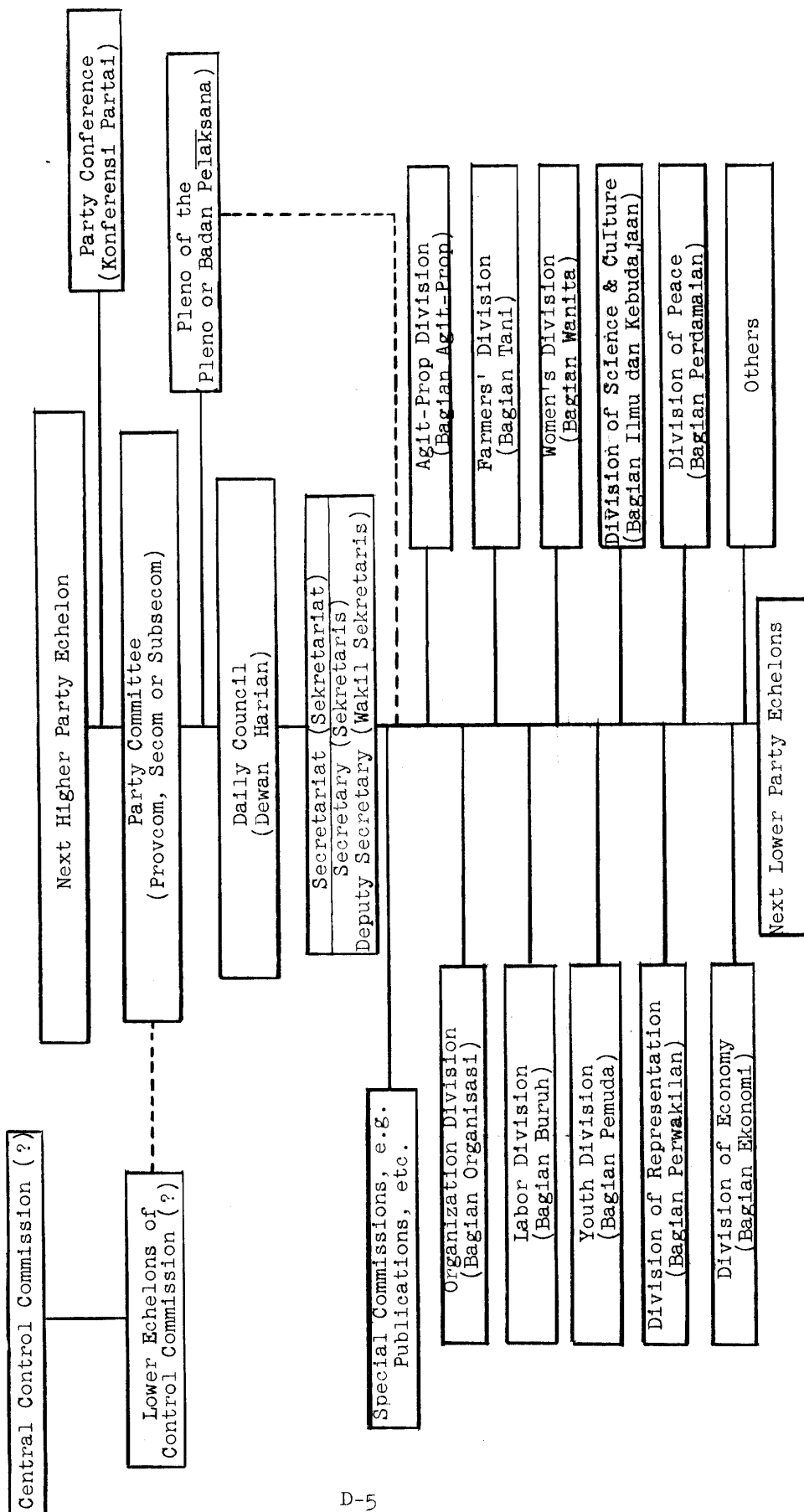
MAY 1955

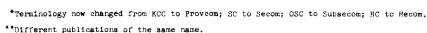


D-3

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3. ORGANIZATION OF A PKI SUBNATIONAL UNIT
(PROVINCE, SECTION AND SUBSECTION LEVEL)
MAY 1955

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX E

BIOGRAPHIC DATA ON PKI LEADERS

1. D. N. Aidit
2. M. H. Lukman
3. Njoto

BIOGRAPHIC DATA

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